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THE DUNCIAD OF 1728

All I could hear of you of late hath been by advertisements in the newspapers by which one would think the race of Curls was multiplied; and by the indignation such fellows show against you, that you have more merit than any body alive could have. Homer himself hath not been worse used by the French.—Gay to Pope, August 2, 1728.

The origin and the progress of the *Dunciad* have been discussed in the biographies of Pope and in several investigations.¹ In the present article I shall pass silently over the matter of origin, and treat only of the events of 1728. I desire, after resuming briefly what is known of the preparation of the poem for the press and of the preparation of the public to receive it, to submit the results of a recent investigation of the contemporary periodicals and pamphlets in so far as they afford information concerning the advertisements of the *Dunciad*, the dates and varieties of early editions, and their printers and publishers.

I. THE PREPARATION OF THE POEM FOR THE PRESS

The beginning of the year found the poem well along in composition, if not complete. The earliest reference to the *Dunciad* is—in

¹ John Nichols, in the seventeen volumes of the *Anecdotes and the Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, devotes a chapter to the subject, and alludes to it in other places. There is much information scattered through the pages of *Notes and Queries*, particularly in First Series, X, 197-200, 477-78, 497-98, 517-20; XII, 161 (1854-55). In the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works* (1871-80), Mr. Elwin gives to it some nineteen of the thirty-eight pages of the Introduction to Vol. IV (pp. 3-19, 36-38); and Mr. Courthope reverts to it in chap. x (pp. 211-31) of the *Life*, which constitutes Vol. V. George Paston has several breezy chapters upon it in her *Mr. Pope: His Life and Times*, 1910 (I, 341 to Vol. II, 389, and 646-87). The most elaborate treatment is that of Professor Lounsbury in *The Text of Shakespeare*, 1906 (chaps. xi, xii, and *passim*).

an Irish manner of speaking—not to the *Dunciad* but to *Dulness*. The full name first decided upon was, apparently, *The Progress of Dulness*, though, so far as I recall, only the final word was used in references to it in the correspondence of the poet and his friends. In January Pope wrote to Swift:¹

It grieves me to the soul that I cannot send you my *chef-d'oeuvre*, the poem of Dulness, which, after I am dead and gone, will be printed with a large commentary, and lettered on the back, Pope's Dulness. I send you, however, what most nearly relates to yourself, the inscription to it.² In what is, I think, the earliest reference at all to the poem, no name is given to it. So far back as October 22, 1727, Pope had written to Swift:

My poem (which it grieves me that I dare not send you a copy of, for fear of the Curlls and Dennises of Ireland, and still more for fear of the worst of traitors, our friends and admirers), my poem, I say, will show you what a distinguishing age we live in. Your name is in it, with some others, under a mark of such ignominy as you will not much grieve to wear in that company.

Whether thou choose Cervantes' serious air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais' easy chair;
Or in the graver gown instruct mankind,
Or, silent, let thy morals tell thy mind.³

In February it was still not quite finished, however; for Bolingbroke wrote to Swift:

In the meantime his Dulness grows and flourishes as if he were there [in Dublin] already.—E.-C., Pope's *Works*, VII, 113.

The growing was probably in the way of polishing, rather than in change of structure or length. For on the 26th, Swift wrote to Gay, asking: "Why does not Mr. Pope publish his Dulness?"—implying, evidently, that he thought the poem ready for the printer. We know, indeed, that Swift had seen at least a part of it in manuscript, though how large a part remains undetermined.⁴

¹ Perhaps I ought to point out that the date of this letter is supplied conjecturally by the editor.

² And he quotes thirteen lines of verse, most of which did not appear till the 1729 quarto version (Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, VII, 109 ff.).

³ *Works*, VII, 104. Cf. modern editions of the *Dunciad*, Book I, ll. 21–24.

⁴ He was with Pope at Twickenham more than half the period March to August, 1726, and made a second visit in the earlier half of 1727, leaving Twickenham August 31, but remaining a short time in London, where the two friends still met occasionally. After the Dean's return to Ireland, the two never met again. Some of the time of the latter, or

We infer that the end of February found the satire about ready for the press, though one notable change was yet to be made.

II. THE PREPARATION OF THE PUBLIC TO RECEIVE IT

Pope was an extremely skilful advertiser. While, as yet, he did not mean to publish the *Dunciad* over his own name, he was determined to see that it did not fall flat from the press. He went now about the task of piquing the curiosity of the public. The poem was held back that it might be preceded by a sort of prose *Dunciad*. This was the "Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry," contributed by Pope to the third volume of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, the so-called "The Last Volume," published March 7.¹ Swift apparently had no part in the "Bathos," and did not see it in manuscript,² though he and Pope together had prepared the matter for the first two volumes of the *Miscellanies*. Part of the materials of the "Bathos" was gathered together by Arbuthnot,³ but Pope prepared the piece for the press, and is, in a general sense, at least, its author.

of both, of these visits, Pope gave to the *Dunciad*, as is shown by a note in the first edition of the poem in 1729:

" . . . Dr. Swift, who whether Publisher or not, may be said in a sort to be the Author of the Poem: For when He, together with Mr. Pope, (for reasons specify'd in their Preface to the *Miscellanies*) determin'd to own the most trifling pieces in which they had any hand, and to destroy all that remain'd in their power, the first sketch of this poem was snatch'd from the fire by Dr. Swift, who persuaded his friend to proceed in it, and to him it was therefore Inscribed."—*Dunciad*, 4to, 1729, p. 87, n.

There is abundant confirmatory evidence; see E.-C., *Works*, IV, 5.

¹ I have not found a positive statement that it appeared on the 7th, but, because of the following advertisements, I take that to be the correct date:

Saturday, March 2, *The London Evening Post*, No. 36, p. 4, col. 1, middle:

"On Thursday next will be published, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume*. By the Rev. Dr. Swift, Alexander Pope, Esq; &c. consisting of several Copies of Verses, most of them never before printed. To which is prefix'd, A Discourse on the Profound, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry. Printed for Benj. Motte at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street."

Wednesday, March 6, *The Daily Courant*, No. 8238, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

"To-morrow will be published, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume* . . . [Rest as the preceding]."

Friday, March 8, *The Daily Post*, No. 2640, *The Daily Courant*, No. 8240, and *The Daily Journal*, No. 2232:

"This Day is publish'd, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume*. . . ."

Saturday, March 9, *The Daily Journal*, No. 2233, and *The Country Journal; or, Craftsman*, No. 88, repeat this notice.

Since it was customary in this generation for a paper to repeat for weeks, or even for months, an advertisement beginning "This Day is published," it is necessary to exercise care in determining a date upon its authority.

The date on the title-page of the "Last Volume," at any rate in some copies, is 1727.

² "As for these scribblers . . . how much that nest of hornets are my regard will easily appear to you when you read the Treatise of the Bathos."—Pope to Swift, March 23.

³ There are several references; one will suffice: " . . . The Doctor grew quite indolent in it, for something newer, I know not what."—Pope to Swift, *Works*, VII, 110.

Its nature is indicated by the subtitle. The reception it had "at the hands of the town" was a warm one, though not so warm as the following extract from an exaggerated account¹ would indicate:

. . . . In which [the "Bathos"] was a chapter, where the species of bad writers were rang'd in classes, and initial letters of names prefix'd, for the most part at random. But such was the number of poets eminent in that art, that some one or other took every letter to himself. All fell into so violent a fury, that for half a year or more the common News papers (in most of which they had some property, as being hired writers) were filled with the most abusive falsehoods and scurrilities they could possibly devise:

Professor Lounsbury has presented at length the thesis, suggested by Elwin, that the purpose of the "Bathos" was to incite the Dunces to a retaliatory attack upon Pope, so that he might reply with the *Dunciad*. The current of his argument is indicated by the following quotations:

The real firebrand thrown into the literary powder-magazine was the prose preface with which the third volume opened. No one doubts now that it was prepared with the intent of creating the explosion which followed. . . . More than a score of authors, indicated by their initials, were classified under the names of various members of the animal creation. This [chapter] Pope desired and expected to be followed by an outcry that would furnish in turn the needed pretext for the publication of the satire which, long contemplated, had now been brought substantially to completion. . . . As a matter of fact, the attacks upon the poet, compared with the provocation given, were exceedingly few. Not a single pamphlet was published. All the articles of any nature, whether in prose or verse, whether the briefest of paragraphs or the longest of letters, which appeared between the dates of the "Essay on the Profund" and of "The Dunciad," were collected soon after into a single volume. They were just twenty in number. Of these it is perfectly clear that four either came directly from Pope himself or were instigated by him. . . .—*The Text of Shakespeare*, 203-8.

The "single volume" here referred to is *A Compleat Collection of all the Verses, Essays, Letters and Advertisements . . . occasioned by the . . . Miscellanies by Pope and Company*, long ago mentioned by

¹ Published first as a part of "The Dedication" of *A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose, Which have been publish'd on the Occasion of the Dunciad*, ostensibly by Savage, in 1732; and incorporated later, with slight changes, among the notes to the *Dunciad*, making its initial appearance in *Works*, Vol. II, 1735 (4to and folio), where it is appended to the note on Swift's rescue of the *Dunciad* manuscript from the flames.

Pope.¹ It did make an almost clean sweep of the papers. My search has revealed only two pieces to be added: one from the *Craftsman* of April 20, and another from the *British Gazetteer* of the same date. All included, the journals printed, in the space of eight weeks, seventeen skits about the *Miscellanies*, chiefly concerning the "Bathos." In addition, against Pope personally, there were five pieces, one of which appeared in two different periodicals. And besides these there were printed several books and pamphlets, for some of which the advertisements constituted a sort of ancillary attack upon the *Miscellanies* or the poet.²

The month of March saw, also, at least one alteration in the *Dunciad*, and that a capital one. The vision of a book lettered on the back, *Pope's Dulness*, was too much for the poet's sense of humor; so the title was changed. March 23 he wrote again to Swift of:

. . . My Dulness (which, by the way, for the future you are to call by a more pompous name, the *Dunciad*), . . .

That Pope was writing a poem to be called "The Progress of Dulness" was but an imperfectly kept secret. On May 11 the *Daily Journal* contained an anonymous letter (next year attributed by Pope to John Dennis), in which the final paragraph opens thus:

¹ Published not later than June 12, it contains a dedication "To the Author of the *Dunciad*," and reprints of twenty-one pieces from the periodicals, with a note on the personal names occurring in the *Miscellanies*. The first of the reprints is from a journal of November 25, 1727; the remaining twenty bear dates from March 18 to May 11, 1728. To sixteen of these Pope refers by name and date in the quarto *Dunciad* of 1729, p. 92, where he hypothesizes an author for most of them.

² April 13. *Daily Journal*. The promise of *Gulliveriana*.
 " 24. " " *The Knight of the Kirk*.
 " 29. " " " " " " 2d. ed.
 May 4. *Mist's Journal*. " " " " " "
 " 9. *Daily Journal*. *The Twickenham Hotch-Potch*.

As permitting an insight into the ways of literary warfare, I quote from the first and last of these advertisements:

"In the Press, and speedily will be Publish'd, *Gulliveriana*. . . . To which will be added, A Comparison between the Ecclesiastical and Poetical Pope; wherein will be contained many curious and entertaining Pieces, both in Verse and Prose, relating to the latter.

"The whole being a 4th Volume of Modern Miscellanies: Or, A Supplement to the 3 Volumes of Miscellanies, publish'd by Dr. Swift and Mr. Alexander Pope, &c.
 "Any pieces proper for this Work, sent to me, at the Rainbow, St. Martin's Lane; or to Mr. Whitridge's, the Corner of Castle Alley, at the Royal Exchange, shall be inserted in this Miscellany.

"MATTHEW JOHNSON."

"This Day is Published . . . the Twickenham Hotch-Potch . . . Printed for J. Roberts . . . A. Dodd.

"N.B. This Design is to be carried on for the Good of the Publick. Any Letters directed for Peter Henning, Esq; to be left at Hurt's Coffee-house against Catherine-Street in the Strand, will come safe to the Compiler."

Yet notwithstanding his [Pope's] Ignorance and his Stupidity, this *Animalculum* of an Author, is, forsooth! at this very Juncture, writing the *Progress of Dulness*.

III. THE ADVERTISEMENT OF THE POEM

The *Dunciad* made its appearance on Saturday, May 18. It was not infrequent at the time to advertise the coming of a book,¹ but I find no evidence of any preliminary campaign of the sort for the *Dunciad*. The satire was left to be its own herald. It must have been widely purchased, for several editions appeared within a few weeks. Let me here place together, for the sake of comparison, all the advertisements of the *Dunciad*, of the *Key to the Dunciad*, and of other pamphlets, that I wish to use. The vagaries of type, spelling, and line formation I shall not attempt to indicate; but significant changes are pointed out. It is interesting to observe the publisher's skilful discriminations among the daily, thrice-a-week, and weekly papers.

The Daily Post, 2701, Saturday, May 18, 1728, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

This Day is publish'd, The *Dunciad*. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books. Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728.²

The same advertisement, but with different type, line division, and capitalization, and without the year date, was carried by *The Daily Journal*, 2293, May 18, p. 2, col. 2, top. In the Monday papers I found no *Dunciad* advertisements. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the *Post* (2703-5) and the *Journal* (2295-97) repeated the advertisement as above, adding at the end "Price 1s." On Friday, May 24, there were two alterations:

The Daily Post, 2706, p. 2, col. 3, upper middle:

The Daily Journal, 2298, p. 1, col. 3, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd, The *Dunciad*. An Heroic Poem. The 2d Edition. Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728. Price 1s.

N.B. Next week will be publish'd the *Progress of Dulness*, by an Eminent Hand.

¹ Cf. the anticipatory notices of the *Miscellanies*. My investigations were confined to the Burney Collection at the British Museum, which lacks some papers of that age.

² This advertisement is quoted by C. W. Dilke in *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 198, who also refers, but vaguely, to advertisements of May 25, 27, and 29.

The same, omitted by the Saturday dailies, appeared in the weekly *The Country Journal*: or, *The Craftsman*, 99, May 25, p. 3, col. 1, middle.¹ Further change was made on Monday, thus:

The Daily Post, 2708, May 27, p. 2, col. 1, lower middle:

The Daily Journal, 2300, May 27, p. 2, col. 2, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd, The Second Edition of, The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books.

He, as an Herd
Of Goats or timorous Flock together throng'd,
Drove them before him, Thunder-struck pursu'd,
Into the vast Profund.

—Milton.

Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728. Pr. 1s.

And speedily will be publish'd, which will serve for an Explanation of this Poem, The Progress of Dulness. By an Eminent Hand.

Tuesday the dailies omitted the advertisement, but a thrice-a-weekly—*The London Evening Post*, 73, May 25–28, p. 4, col. 2, top—took up the burden. The dailies repeated the notice on Wednesday (*Post*, 2710, *Journal*, 2302), but not in the next three issues; on Thursday it reappeared in the *London Evening Post* (74); and on Saturday in the weeklies—*Mist's Weekly Journal*, 163, June 1, p. 3, col. 2, middle; *The Craftsman*, 100, June 1, p. 3, col. 1, bottom. The next alteration occurred a week later:

Mist's Weekly Journal, 164, Saturday, June 8, p. 3, col. 1, bottom:

This Day is published, the 3d Edition of, The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In three Books. [4-line quotation from Milton.] Dublin, Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd, without Temple Bar. Price 1s. Where may be had² the Dunciad, in octavo. Price 1s. 6d. Speedily will be published, which will serve for an Explanation of this Poem, The Progress of Dulness. By an Eminent Hand.

The same announcement, with just the slightest of changes, appeared in *The London Evening Post*, 79, June 8–11 (Tuesday), p. 3, col. 2, top. And this, for the time being, ended the advertisement of the *Dunciad*.

In the meanwhile, however, and slightly later, several books related to the *Dunciad* were being advertised.

¹ In *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 298, Thoms quotes or refers to advertisements in the *Craftsman*, May 25 and June 1; and *Mist's*, May 25 and June 8.

² By current convention an advertisement beginning "Where may be had" implied that a book had been public for some time. Cf. my discussion of editions, *infra*.

Concerning the *Key to the Dunciad*, I have noted the following:

The Daily Journal, 2300, Monday, May 27, p. 2, col. 1, bottom:

This Day is publish'd, Adorn'd with Cuts, The Supernatural Philosopher:

Or,

Printed only for E. Curll, against Catherine-Street in the Strand.

Price 5s.

N.B. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad will be published next Wednesday. Price, 6d.¹

The Daily Journal, 2302, May 29, p. 2, col. 2, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd (In the same Size to bind up with it) Price 6d.

A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. Explaining all the Passages, Pieces, and names of Persons, libelled in that scurrilous, obscene, and impious Satire. With a Character of Mr. Pope and his profane Writings, by Sir Richard Blackmore, Kt. M.D.

Printed for A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; and sold by E. Curll in the Strand; A. Whitridge near the Royal Exchange; N. Blandford at Charing-Cross; J. Jackson near St. James's House; and M. Turner at the Post-House in Covent-Garden.

Where may be had, New Editions of, Three Books, viz.

I. Mr. Pope's Court Poems, viz. 1. The Basset-Table. 2. The Toilet. 3. The Drawing-Room. 4. Moore's Worms. A Satire. 5. A Version of the First Psalm, &c. Pr. 1s.

II. The Knight of the Kirk: Or, The Ecclesiastical Adventures of Sir John Presbyter. The 2d Edit. Pr. 1s. 6d.

III. The Parson's Daughter. A Tale. For the Use of Pretty Girls with small Fortunes. Price 6d.

This latter advertisement was placed in the same column as, and immediately under, that of the Second Edition of the *Dunciad* quoted *supra*. On Monday the second edition of the *Key* was announced in *The Daily Journal*, 2306, June 3, p. 2, col. 3, upper middle. Another notice of it was affixed by Curll to an advertisement of other books in *The Daily Journal*, 2310, June 10, p. 1, col. 3, top. And still another, in 2314, is quoted *infra*. The third edition of the *Key* was published July 5.

A different *Key* must have been printed about this time (June ?), though I have found no advertisement of it. The only two copies of it of whose existence I am aware are the one in Yale University

¹ How keenly Pope's friends were on the watch is shown by Lord Oxford's letter to him written on this same day (May 27, 1728):

" . . . I see Curll has advertised a Key to the *Dunciad*. I have been asked for one by several; I wish the true one was come out. . . ." E.-C., *Works*, VIII, 236.

Library and the one I own. It is not listed in any of the bibliographies. Apparently Professor Lounsbury and I are the only students of the *Dunciad* who have seen a copy. It is a small sheet folded once to make four 12mo pages, showing no title-page, and no indication of place, date, or publisher. It may be the *Key* mentioned by Lord Oxford in his letter of May 27. And again it may be the one concerning which some entertaining but vague information is quoted by Thoms from the back of an early pamphlet.¹ But, rendering either conclusion dubious, both the Yale copy and mine of of this *Key* are bound up with edition CC of the *Dunciad*, Curll's pirated edition.

In some of the advertisements of the *Dunciad* in the newspapers and in a notice in two editions of the *Dunciad* itself there was promised a *Progress of Dulness*. A reader might reasonably have inferred that this was a poem by Pope. A *Progress* did appear shortly, but it was not written by Pope; it was signed "H. Stanhope," and was dated June 8; and probably, though not certainly, was published by Curll.² The initial advertisement of it appeared in—

The Daily Journal, 2314, Wednesday, June 12, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

This Day is publish'd, (Which will serve for an Explanation of the *Dunciad*) With Two remarkable Letters to Mr. Booth the Player, The *Progress of Dulness*. A Poem. By an Eminent Hand.

Nought but himself can be his Parallel. Theobald.

Printed: And sold by A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; all the Booksellers in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Brotherton in Cornhill; W. Lewis in Covent Garden; J. Jackson near St. James's Palace; J. Pote near Suffolk-Street, Charing-Cross; and E. Curll in the Strand. Price 1s.

Where may be had, just Publish'd, Six Books, viz. I. Mr. Pope's Court Poems II. The Parson's Daughter III. The Key to the *Dunciad*. 2d. Edition IV. The Confederates V. The New Rehearsal VI. Woman's Revenge. . . . Price 1s. 6d. All printed for E. Curll in the Strand.

Speedily will be publish'd, The Popiad.

This notice was repeated in 2315 and 2316, June 13 and 14. In the Monday issue, 2318, June 18, the first words were altered to:

Just publish'd, Being truly Genuine, (Which will serve)

¹ *N. and Q.*, 1 S., XII, 161-62. Cf. also Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, p. 234.

² Query: "H. Stanhope" equals William Bond or Daniel Defoe? The poem was reprinted, with some annotations, by Thoms in *N. and Q.*, 2 S., II, 201-4.

This, with the further change of the last line to the following, reappeared in—

The Daily Journal, 2322, June 21:

Next Week will be publish'd, The Popiad. A Counterpart to the Dunciad. Price 1s. *Bella plusquam Civilia*.

On Monday the "Next Week" became "This Week." Then, after a wait of more than a week, the public was rewarded thus:

The Daily Journal, 2334, Friday, July 5, p. 2, col. 3, top:

This Day is publish'd, The Popiad. A Counterpart to the Dunciad.

Bella plusquam Civilia.—Lucan.

His own Example strengthens all his Laws,
He is Himself, the Bathos that He draws.

—Ess. on Crit.

Printed for S. Chapman at the Angel in Pall-Mall; J. Jackson near St. James's Palace; M. Boulter at Charing-Cross: E. Curll against Catherine-street in the Strand; A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; and J. Brotherton in Cornhill. Price 1s.

N.B. To keep Pace with Mr. Pope, this Day is likewise publish'd, the Third Edition, of

1. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. Containing an exact Account of all the Persons abused, and Books mentioned, in that scurrilous and obscene Libel. With a Character of Mr. Pope Price 6d.

2. The Progress of Dulness. A Poem. (Which will serve to explain the Dunciad.) The True Copy, no other Piece, under this Title, being intended to be publish'd. Price 1s.¹

3. The Confederates. A Farce. By Mr. Joseph Gay, i.e. Captain Brevai, for which he is put into the Dunciad. Price 1s.²

4. The New Rehearsal: Or, Bays the Younger. A Dramatic Entertainment. By Charles Gildon, Esq; in which for characterizing Pope under the Name of Sawney Dapper, he is put into the Dunciad. Price 1s. 6d.

VI. Woman's Revenge

6. Mr. Pope's Court Poems, viz.

7. The Parson's Daughter Price 6d.

¹ The wording of Curll's advertisement here implies that he was not responsible for the initial advertisement of a "Progress of Dulness." It is probable that Pope arranged for that first advertisement, meaning thereby further to mystify the public as to the authorship of the *Dunciad*.

² Cf. Pope's *Dunciad*, 4to, 1729, p. 93:

"Others of an elder date, having layn as waste paper many years, were upon the publication of the *Dunciad* brought out, and their Authors betrayed by the mercenary Bookseller (in hope of some possibility of vending a few) by advertising them in this manner—*The Confederates*, a Farce, By Capt. Brevai, (for which he is put into the *Dunciad*)"

With the correction of VI to 5, this was repeated in 2339, 2341, and 2347.

It is not possible to mention here all the pamphlets of the War of the Dunces for even this short period (a bibliographical feat I mean to attempt elsewhere); so we may close the list with this conclusion to an advertisement from—

The Daily Journal, 2349, July 19, p. 2, col. 1, bottom:

III. The whole Pope-ish Controversy occasion'd by the Dunciad, viz.
1. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. 2. The Progress of Dulness. 3. The Popeiad, in a neat Pocket Size. Price 2s. 6d. any of which are sold single.
All printed for E. Curll, against Katherine-street in the Strand.¹

IV. THE VARIOUS EDITIONS

To the best of my knowledge, no list hitherto printed of the editions of the *Dunciad* in 1728 is both complete and accurate. Concerning the number the earliest statement is that of Pope himself. The first piece in the Appendix to the quarto of 1729 is (p. 87): "Preface prefix'd to the five imperfect Editions of the Dunciad, printed at Dublin and London, in Octavo and Duod." And in the *Works*, Vol. II (1735), the first of the "Notes Variorum" is: "This Poem was writ in 1727. In the next year an imperfect Edition was published at Dublin, and re-printed at London in 12°. Another at Dublin, and another at London in 8°, and three others in 12° the same year." The probable inaccuracies in this "note" will appear from the discussion that now follows.

The greatest effort to determine the number was that made by writers in *Notes and Queries*, 1854-55. The discussion begun then has continued to the present time. The best information I can command substantiates Pope's statement in part but not altogether. There were seven editions, or, if two varieties of one edition be designated as editions, there were eight—two in octavo, the rest in duodecimo. All these have been mentioned by the bibliographers at one time or another. The use of letters of the alphabet for numbering them, begun by *Notes and Queries* and continued by writers since, leads into so much awkwardness that it must break down sooner or later; but for the present I shall maintain the tradition. Certain

¹ Repeated in No. 2353, July 24.

distinguishing peculiarities of the different editions are indicated in the appended table.¹

Peculiarity	Book	Page	Line	
1.	I	1	1	Book for Books.
2.	I	5	note	Interludes for Enterludes.
3.	I	6	94	D—n for D—s.
4.	II	15	2	Final letter f displaced.
5.	II	22	note	Curf in the Pillory.
6.	II	23	159 [160]	Spirits for Spirts.
7.	III	46	note	*Dr. Faustus, etc.
8.	III	[52]	note	Advertisement of "Dulness."

The editions show:

A	1, 2, 3, 4, 6.	D	5.
B	1, 2, 3, 4, 6.	DD	5, 7.
C	3, 4, 6, 8.	D2	5, 7.
CC	2, 3, 8.	E	Many differences.

B is an octavo; E, a small octavo; the rest are duodecimos. On the title-page, D is called "The Second Edition"; DD and D2, both "The Third Edition." DD has a device of fruit and flowers on the title-page; D2, a figure of Justice with sword and balance: upward of thirty peculiarities distinguish between the two. E was printed in Dublin; the others in London.

Edition A, described as a 12mo, seems to be a ghost or a myth. I cannot learn the whereabouts of a copy of it, nor find a man who has ever seen one. Recent bibliographers and the scholars with whom I have communicated are strongly of the belief that no such edition ever existed. Nevertheless, it occurs in the lists from 1854 to 1885; in the former year Messrs. Thoms and Dilke wrote: "... with the exception of the Museum copy of B, all the other issues of this first composition [or edition, inspected by them] have been in 12mo."; and in the latter, Mr. Solly, who had something like ninety copies of early editions of the *Dunciad* in his collection, wrote as if he had a copy of A before him. Similarly, the first (12mo) of the two Dublin editions mentioned in Pope's note is entirely unknown at the present time.²

¹ Slightly condensed and revised from a table published by Mr. Edward Solly in *N. and Q.*, October 18, 1879. Mr. Solly's list of editions is the fullest known to me—too full, in fact.

² Evidence of a contradictory nature—pointing, i.e., to the existence of but a single Irish edition—occurs in another place, the note to Book I, l. 104, of the 4to of 1729: "... which, in that printed in Ireland . . ."; Dilke wrote: "By the phrase 'in that [edition] printed in Ireland,' the writer clearly refers to one edition, all published or at least known to him; he would otherwise have said 'in those,' or 'in one of those'" (*N. and Q.*, 18., X, 239).

B, the octavo, is nowadays reckoned the first edition. I am not convinced that it actually was so. Certainly C and it came from the press at very nearly the same time. With such information as I have at present, I rather incline to think that they were issued simultaneously, the octavo being the equivalent of a "large paper copy" of the duodecimo.¹ So far as we can now see, then, either B or C was the first edition. From one of them, though from which I cannot now say, three succeeding editions were drawn. These were CC, E, and D.

CC was pretty certainly the third in point of time; and in all probability it came from the "chaste press" of Curll, the pirate printer. With the exception of some minor differences and a considerable variation on one page (p. viii of the "Publisher to the Reader") it tracks B and C² page for page and line for line; but font of type and ornaments are different, and other rules of capitalization are observed. A notable variation appears in Book I, l. 76, wherein the holiday necklaces of aldermen are changed from "glad chains" to "Gold chains," thus affording Pope an opportunity, in the notes of the next year, for a fling at the density of the editor of this edition. If CC had not appeared earlier than the next London edition—which on the title-page is called "The Second Edition"—or, at any rate, been meant to appear before that one, it would have lost most of its excuse for being; or, to put the matter the other way around, its publisher would have incorporated the alterations made by "The Second Edition."

¹ The divergences are few. They have the same number of pages; with the same number of lines, and the same lines, on the page; the printed portion of the page is of the same size; and the exact sameness of the way letters occur one under another on the page shows they are from the same setting of type. The "signature" letters, of course, are unlike. In the text one of the greatest differences is in the first line of the poem. In all editions except B we read:

"Books and the man I sing, the first who
brings."

In B the first word is singular, *Book*; and the *o* of *who* has dropped down. A London friend, a great book-collector and an editor of experience, tells me that he believes the singular noun was originally intended by Pope, who had in mind Theobald's *Shakespeare Restor'd*. But I think it might reasonably be argued that C was printed first, and, in reworking the forms to be used for an octavo, the printer accidentally allowed the *s* of *Books* to fall out entirely, and the *o* of *who* to drop down. Some untried sources of information that I have in view may later help me determine the point. The 12mo must have been the commonly used edition: witness the wording of Curll's advertisement of his 12mo *Key*—"In the same Size to bind up with it." The octavo, as such, is first mentioned—rather incidentally then—in an advertisement of June 8. Compare, moreover, the advertised prices as a further bit of evidence.

² It was probably set up from B, since it has *Interludes* in the note on p. 5; on the other hand, it reprints the *Dulness* advertisement of C, which is not in B.

E is the Irish edition, printed and published in Dublin. Concerning the date of issue, I have not procured definite information; but it was before July 16, for on that day Swift wrote, in a letter to Pope:

I have often run over the *Dunciad* in an Irish edition (I suppose full of faults) which a gentleman sent me.

It was, indeed, not free from faults, some of which are amusing. It was set up from a copy of B or C (I think C, since it has *Enterludes* in the note on p. 5) sent over from London, with the names (indicated in the original only by the first, or the first and last letters) filled out in script by someone who, like Curll, was familiar with Pope's intentions but not in his intimacy. At least, I infer so much from a comparison of editions. For example, the letters *M. . . n* of B and C, Book II, l. 311, became *Metwin* in E; the correct name was Milbourn (sometimes spelled Milburn), as we know from later editions and from the *Keys*. Again, in Book III, l. 271, we find *Ecyden* for Eusden (a name correctly spelled in other lines in E). The most entertaining of the errors is the *Dryden* in Book I, l. 94, for the *D—n* of B and C. Pope never intended Dryden, and in a note in 1729 laughed at this blunder. The bungle was the occasion of one of the famous anecdotes gathered around the *Dunciad*, a friendly dispute between Macaulay and W. J. Thoms in the library of the House of Lords. I have related that story, and have given what I think is the explanation of the error, in a note in the (New York) *Nation*, May 14, 1914, attributing the mistake to the Dublin compositor and not to either Pope or the unidentified London "editor." The title-page of this edition bears the legend "Written by Mr. Pope," but this information, too, I think, was furnished by the editor and was entirely without connivance on the part of Pope.¹

Of D, the titular "Second Edition," there are two varieties. D(a) has the word *Dublin* misspelled *Dudlin* on the title-page; D(b) corrects the error. About the only other difference between the two which I have noted is that (in my copies) D(a) has *A* for the catchword on p. 9, while D(b) has the correct *As*. In neither of my copies is the title-page an insert; but the sheets were printed from the same setting of type. This edition adds some notes and

¹ The statement that this Dublin edition "is the first edition in which Pope acknowledges the authorship of the work" (*Catalogue of the Grolier Exhibition*, 1911) is therefore to be considered inaccurate.

alters some of the names of persons satirized, which changes need not be specified here.

Nor need those be which appear in the two varieties of the so-called "The Third Edition," DD and D2. Some of the peculiarities which distinguish between the two have been mentioned already.

The seven London varieties appeared in the three weeks from May 18 to June 8.¹

The eight varieties of 1728, then, are B, C, CC, E, D(a), D(b), DD, and D2.

The content is much the same in the eight, and may be examined in the easily accessible reprints of B in the Elwin-Courthope *Works*, IV, 263 ff., and in Crowell's "Astor Edition" of the *Poetical Works*, pp. 537-69. There is a frontispiece to each except E; it shows, perched on top of a pile of books, an owl with a banner in its beak on which is inscribed "The | Dunci | ad"; CC's is a re-engraved copy of the one that appears the same in all other varieties. There is a title-page, of course. By way of preface there is "A Letter from the Publisher to the Reader." After this follows a half-title, and then the poem in three books. On some pages there are footnotes, in all instances rather short ones. The revisions from edition to edition affect proper names and phrases, and a few footnotes are added. But the number of lines remains unaltered, a total of 916; Book I, 250; Book II, 384, misnumbered 382 (line 131 is misnumbered 130, the error continuing to line 207, which is misnumbered 205, the double error continuing thence to the end); and Book III, 286.²

V. PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

All the editions except E bear on the title-page the words "Dublin, Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd"; E has "London: Printed, and Dublin Re-printed by and for G. Faulkner, J. Hoey, J. Leathley, E. Hamilton, P. Compton, and T. Benson." The imprint of E requires no comment, but that of the others has occasionally been taken more or less seriously by the commentators. If meant to deceive any contemporary, it failed. As a device it was not unknown

¹ If this rapidity astounds any reader, he may be comforted by the information that Stephen Duck's *Poems*, under a demand stimulated by court favor, passed through seven legitimate editions in twelve days, September 28 to October 9, 1730, besides "surreptitious" ones.

² The reprints number the lines correctly, silently rectifying the errors of the original.

before; and my impression is that it was then considered no greater piece of deception than is the use of a pseudonym today.¹

Pope chose to refer to all the 1728 editions as imperfect or "surreptitious," meaning the public to infer that the "coming abroad" of the poem at all at that time was contrary to the wishes of its author. Superficially, though not fundamentally, his statements may be granted to be true. But the Irish edition and at least one London edition were probably surreptitious in the full meaning of the word. It was said above that the edition CC very likely was printed by Edmund Curll. One reason for thinking so is the connection between the "Gold chains" of this edition (alone) and a note on the line in the *Key*, which is known to have been printed by Curll; another is that the rules of its capitalization are those of Curll's books generally.

The printer of the other London editions was probably James Bettenham. In a postscript to his *Notes and Queries* list Thoms says:

We have been kindly permitted by the Stationers' Company to consult their registers of the years 1728 and 1729, where we discovered the following entries:

"May 30, 1728. James Bettenham. Then entered for his copy of *The Dunciad, an Heroic Poem*, in three books. Received nine books."

Betttenham was a printer (not publisher, so far as I know) of considerable eminence in his time. His name occurs, as the printer, on the title-page of the "Second Edition" (in twelves) of Pope's *Iliad*. Since there is no account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it will not be taken amiss if I abstract a short notice of him from Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*. In December, 1712, he married a stepdaughter of the printer William Bowyer the elder (she was a half-sister, then, of the more famous printer William Bowyer the younger). He "pursued" his profession "with unabated industry and reputation till the year 1766, when he retired from business; and died Feb. 6, 1774, of a gradual decay, at the advanced age of 91. . . . His first wife died Dec. 8, 1716, aged 30; and he had a second who died July 9, 1735, aged 39." The elder Bowyer was the printer

¹ In the *Daily Post*, February 21, 1728, I noticed:

"This Day is publish'd, A Trip to the Moon, by Mr. Murtagh McDermot Printed at Dublin, and Reprinted at London, for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. Price One Shilling."

Dr. Bentley, who never set foot out of England, subscribed his *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-Thinking* as from "Leipsic, Jan. 26."

Curll was the first, I think, to point out that the *Dunciad* was not first printed in Ireland. Cf. Curll's *Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence* (1741), p. 63, note.

of the 1717 volume of Pope's *Works*; and, a quarter of a century later, the younger William printed the quarto *Dunciad* of 1743, concerning which Pope had correspondence with him. Bettenham, son-in-law and brother-in-law to the Bowyers, and already known to Pope, was a good man, then, to turn to when the poet had a printing job that he wished to maintain secrecy about.¹

How Mistress Dodd happened to be chosen as publisher is still uncertain—probably at the suggestion of the printer. She and Mrs. Nutt, J. Roberts, and Curll were among the most fecund publishers of the generation. The firm of "A. Dodd" was of long standing and energetic; yet I have succeeded in garnering only a few scraps of information concerning it. The earliest occurrence of the name² to come under my notice is in a pamphlet I have, *An Answer to the Discourse on Free-Thinking. . . . By a Gentleman of Cambridge . . . London, Printed: And Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall; and A. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar. 1713.* This A. Dodd was a mister.³ His advertisements appear in the journals of the ensuing decade. Mr. A. Dodd, the master-printer, died some time between the middle of 1721 and the middle of 1724, but the business continued under the management of the widow, often referred to as Mrs. Dodd. In the latter year the firm name went near to suffering a change by way of the altar; but Thomas Gent, Printer, forsook the widow Dodd, and, making such excuses as he could, fled away to the arms of an old sweetheart in York.⁴ The writer in *Notes and Queries* adds, apparently on the authority of Gent, that the widow subsequently married again,⁵ but "very indifferently." The firm name continued in use, and Mrs. Dodd was still advertising books as late as 1744, living, indeed, long enough to publish *The Last Will and Testament of Alexander*

¹ In *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 217-18; XII, 197, there are some speculations on the possibility that Woodfall may have been the printer of the first edition.

² A column on Mrs. Dodd in *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 217, does not add much to our information.

³ "The Peacock without Temple-Bar" was Edmund Curll's place of business from his setting up in 1706 to 1711. It will be an interesting coincidence if it shall ever appear that Dodd was apprenticed to Curll or associated with him. In 1713 Dodd also published some of Swift's pamphlets.

⁴ See Mr. Austin Dobson's essay "Thos. Gent, Printer," in *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, 3d Series, pp. 125-27.

⁵ The assertion, however, seems to me to need verification. Gent was now a citizen of York. And "Mrs. Dodd" continued long to be referred to in advertisements and notes. Is it possible that it was another Mrs. Dodd or even one of Mrs. Dodd's "dear children" of whose "indifferent" marriage Gent had word?

*Pope, of Twickenham, Esq.*¹ The name was spelled commonly Dodd, with a double *d*, but not infrequently with a single *d* at the end.² The business of A. Dodd was carried on from 1713 to 1744 "at or without Temple-Bar," but the sign of "The Peacock" was not always mentioned.³

VI. THE CRITICAL APPARATUS AND THE COPYRIGHT

It was, from the beginning, a part of the plan that the poem should be accompanied by a vast aggregation of pseudo-critical apparatus. This was meant to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the scientific editing of the day, its especial target being Theobald, of course. Much of the matter must have been in hand when the poem was published, but it was not made public until the time of the quarto, in April, 1729. It was being amplified, as we learn from letters that passed between Pope and Swift on June 28 and July 16, 1728. Apparently, too, it was for a while Pope's intention to publish the quarto some time in the autumn of 1728. In October he informed Swift, referring to the lines that first appeared in the quarto:

The inscription to the *Dunciad* is now printed, and inserted in the poem. But since the volume was not published until 1729, it need not be discussed further in this article.

In November came the final incident in the history of the *Dunciad* of 1728, the sale of the copyright. I have nothing new to say concerning the dealing with the "Noble Lords," who were complacent enough to act as Pope's cat's-paws. From them the copyright passed by sale to Lawton Gilliver. We have not information in detail, but the fact is attested in a document (now in the Record Office, London) appertaining to a law-suit brought by Pope against Henry Lintot in 1742. The life of the copyright was fourteen years.

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¹ I have a folio pamphlet *Printed for A. Dodd, opposite St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1746.*

² This fact has no special bearing in the discussion of editions of the *Dunciad* in 1728; but the spelling of *Dod* as the publisher's name in the quarto of 1729 has been an occasion of stumbling to some bibliographers. Spelling was less uniform then than now; and the difference between Dodd and Dod was no greater, I suspect, than that between Curll and Curl. The *Dob* of an edition of 1729 is a different matter.

³ The name was not an unusual one among bookish folk. A Nicholas Dodd, bookseller, was friendly toward William Bowyer, Sr., in 1712; and in 1743, a B. Dodd was advertising books for sale "at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Stationers-Hall."

CHAUCER AND DANTE'S *CONVIVIO*

In 1891 Koepfel suggested, on the basis of Chaucer's use of the phrase "old richesse," both in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* and in the *balade* on *Gentillesse*, that the *Convivio* had a place in Chaucer's library. But he adduced no further evidence than the striking correspondence, in passages having a common theme, of "old richesse" and *antica ricchezza*.¹ Eighteen years later Paget Toynbee, in his *Dante in English Literature*, quoted the passage on "gentillesse" from the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, and appended the following note:

This discussion as to the true nature of nobility, though partly based on a passage in the *De consolazione philosophiae* (iii, pr. 6, met. 6) of Boethius, . . . almost undoubtedly owes much to Dante's canzone on the subject prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*; as does also the *Balade of Gentillesse*. . . . There is evidence to show that this canzone of Dante was the subject of discussion, in respect of his opinions as to what constitutes nobility, at a very early date. See for instance the account given by Lapo da Castiglione (ca. 1310-81) in the second part of the letter to his son Bernardo (ed. Mehus, Bologna, 1753, pp. 11 ff.) of the examination of Dante's arguments by the famous jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (ca. 1313-56).²

Inasmuch as Koepfel bases his conclusion on a single phrase, and since the plan of Toynbee's work precluded the detailed statement of his evidence, there seems still to be a place for a fuller presentation than has hitherto been made of the grounds for believing that Chaucer knew and used the *Convivio*.

The canzone prefixed to the fourth Tractate of the *Convivio* deals with the nature of *Gentilezza*. Excluding the Preface and the *tornata*, it falls into two parts. The first is negative, and is devoted to the refutation of the view that *Gentilezza* depends on ancestral riches or on descent. The second is positive, and traces *Gentilezza* (or *Nobiltate*) to its ultimate and only source in God. The Tractate that follows is a detailed commentary on the canzone, and poem and

¹ See *Anglia*, XIII, 184-85.

² *Dante in English Literature*, I, 14, n. 1. Koepfel's suggestion had long been known to me; Toynbee's note I read only after the present study was practically completed.

comment alike are suffused with Dante's singular nobility and loftiness of thought. And the twofold emphasis of the canzone is maintained throughout the commentary; "gentillesse" does not derive from ancestral riches or ancestral stock; it does derive from God.

Jean de Meun had also discussed *gentillece* at great length.¹ Like Dante he recognized that true nobility does not depend on birth. But his treatment of its relation to wealth is incidental,² and its source in God is not within his ken. That Chaucer drew on Jean de Meun's treatment, there can be no doubt.³ But no one can read the two passages, I think, without feeling that in this case Jean de Meun's oat has been taken up into a strain of higher mood. The lines which Chaucer quotes from the *Purgatorio* give a clue to the heightening, but not the full solution. It is the spirit of the *Convivio* with which the whole treatment is pervaded. In other words, Chaucer seems to have done in this passage what in his maturer performance he does repeatedly. He has drawn upon all the sources of his inspiration, and has fused them—not dovetailed them, as in his earlier work—into a product that bears his own peculiar stamp. And in the present instance the fine democracy of Jean de Meun's conception of true nobility has been merged with Dante's loftier idealism, and both have been tempered by Chaucer's own broad humanity. That this is true, it is the task of this brief article to show.

The key to Dante's negative treatment of the subject lies in the phrase of the emperor Frederick of Suabia, *antica ricchezza*. The phrase itself does not appear in the canzone, but it occurs six times in the body of the Tractate. It is used, as is well known, three times by Chaucer—twice in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, once in the *balade*. But that is not all. Dante makes much of the implications of *antica*, in a characteristic discussion of *time* (in its relation to *descent*) as a supposed cause of nobility. His argument on this point reappears in Chaucer. His positive doctrine that God is the sole source of *Gentilezza* is fundamental and explicit in Chaucer's treatment too. And finally there are verbal parallels as well. I shall take up these points *seriatim*.

¹ *Roman de la Rose*, II. 19540-828 (ed. Michel).

² See II. 19760 ff.

³ Cf., for example, D 1121-23 and *RR*, 19561-63; D 1150-51 and *RR*, 19818-21; etc. See further Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* (1914), p. 221.

The first division of the canzone opens with the following lines:

Tale imperò che Gentilezza volse,
 Secondo 'l suo parere,
*Che fosse antica possession d'avere,*¹
 Con reggimenti belli.
 Ed altri fu di più lieve sapere,
 Che tal detto rivolse,
 E l'ultima particola ne tolse,
 Chè non l'avea fors' elli.
 Di dietro da costui van tutti quelli
Che fan gentile per ischiatta altrui,
*Che lungamente in gran ricchezza è stata;*²
 Ed è tanto durata
 La così falsa opinion tra nui,
 Che l'uom chiama colui
 Uomo gentil, che può dicere: I' fui
 Nepote o figlio di cotal valente,
 Benchè sia da niente.³

With this may at once be compared the opening of Chaucer's exposition:

But for ye speken of *swich gentillesse*
As is descended out of old richesse,
That therefore sholden ye be gentil men,
*Swich arrogance is nat worth an hen.*⁴

The general parallel is obvious enough, and the similarity of expression is scarcely less striking, even apart from the "old richesse," which is wanting in the canzone.⁵ Of this phrase Chaucer's repetitions are as follows:

Crist wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse,
 Nat of our eldres for hir *old richesse.*⁶
 Vyce may wel be heir to *old richesse.*⁷

¹ Cf.: Heer may ye see wel, how that *gentrye*
Is nat annezed to possessioun [D 1146-47].

² Cf. D 1109-11, below.

³ *Il Convivio*, Trattato Quarto, Canzone Terza, vss. 21-37. I use throughout Moore's text (*Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1904). With the last lines quoted above cf. D 1152-55:

And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
 For he was boren of a gentil hous,
 And hadde hise eldres noble and vertuous,
 And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis, etc.

See also below, p. 26.

⁴ D 1109-12.

⁵ Except as it appears in "antica possession" and "gran ricchezza."

⁶ D 1117-18.

⁷ *Gentillesse*, l. 15.

Its salient position in the Tractate may easily be made clear. Dante's exposition of the first words quoted from the canzone (*Tale imperò*) is as follows. When Frederick of Suabia was asked "che fosse *Gentilezza*," he replied:

. . . . ch' era, "*antica ricchezza*," e be' costumi. E dico che "altri fu di più lieve sapere," che, pensando e rivolgendo questa definizione in ogni parte, levò via l'ultima particola, cioè i "*belli costumi*," e tennesi alla prima, cioè all' "*antica ricchezza*"; e secondochè 'l testo par dubitare, "forse per non avere i belli costumi," non volendo perdere il nome di *Gentilezza*, difinìo quella secondochè per lui facea, cioè "possessione d'*antica ricchezza*."¹

The next six chapters of the *Convivio* constitute a digression upon the imperial authority; in chap. x Dante returns to his main theme. The Emperor's opinion regarding *belli costumi* he does not deem worthy of refutation.² It is Frederick's first phrase on which, throughout his whole negative argument,³ he dwells. He begins with a statement to which we shall have to return.⁴

L'altra particola, che da natura di Nobiltà è del tutto diversa, s'intende riprovare; la quale due cose par dire, quando dice *antica ricchezza*, cioè *tempo* e *divizie*, le quali da Nobiltà sono del tutto diverse, com' è detto, e come di sotto si mostrerà.⁵

A few lines farther on he reverts to the phrase:

Poi dico "similmente lui errare," chè pose della Nobiltà falso soggetto, cioè *antica ricchezza*.⁶

And finally, in the fourteenth chapter, he treats it under the aspect already foreshadowed in the tenth:

Riprovato l'altrui errore, quanto è in quella parte che alle *ricchezze* s'appoggiava, in quella parte che *tempo* diceva essere cagione di Nobiltà, dicendo *antica ricchezza*; e questa riprovazione si fa in questa parte che comincia: "Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna."⁷

¹ IV, iii, 44-55.

² Chaps. x-xv.

³ IV, x, 12-18.

⁴ See IV, x, 1-12.

⁵ See below, p. 23.

⁶ IV, x, 48-50.

⁷ IV, xiv, 1-8. It is interesting to observe that Dante also uses the same phrase in his *De monarchia*: "Sed constat quod merito virtutis nobilitantur homines: virtutis videlicet propriae vel malorum. Est enim nobilitas virtus et divitiae antiquae, juxta Philosophum in Politicis, et juxta Juvenalem:

"Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus."

Quae duae sententiae ad duas nobilitates dantur: proprium scilicet, et malorum" (II, iii, 12-20).

It is true (though it does not seem to have been noticed) that the words also occur in Jean de Meun:

The emphatic recurrence in both writers of a striking phrase in a context of identical import has, as Koeppel felt, considerable weight. And I have already shown that the connection is much closer than Koeppel pointed out. It is, however, even more organic than has thus far been indicated.

Besides the fallacy involved in *ricchezza* (namely the assumption of *divizie* as the source of *Gentilezza*) stands in Dante's argument the fallacy inherent in *antica*—the error, that is, of assuming that *time* (*tempo*), or the continuance of a single condition (*questo processo d'una condizione*), is the cause of nobility.¹ And upon this idea, which does not appear at all in Jean de Meun, Dante lays, in his fourteenth and fifteenth chapters, unusual stress.

Se Nobiltà non si genera di nuovo, siccome più volte è detto che la loro opinione vuole, non generandola di vile uomo in lui medesimo, nè di vile padre in figlio, sempre è l'uomo tale quale nasce; e tale nasce quale il padre: e così questo processo d'una condizione è venuto infino dal primo parente; perchè tale quale fu il primo generante, cioè Adamo, conviene essere tutta la umana generazione, chè da lui alli moderni non si può trovare per quella ragione alcuna trasmutanza. Dunque, se esso Adamo fu nobile, tutti siamo nobili; e se esso fu vile, tutti siamo vili; che non è altro, che torre via la distinzione di queste condizioni, e così è torre via quelle. E questo dice che di quello ch'è messo dinanzi seguita, "che siam tutti gentili ovver villani."²

Si trouveroit toute la terre
O ses richesses anciennes
Et toutes choses terrienes;
Et verroit proprement la mer,
Et tous poissons qui ont amer,
Et tres toutes choses marines,
Laues douces, troubles et fines,
Et les choses grans et menues,
En laues douces contenues;
Et l'air et tous les oisillons—

and so on through all the elements (ll. 21244 ff.). But the context is totally different—the account, namely, of what one sees in the Garden of Mirth—and the passage can scarcely have any bearing on the present case.

¹ See IV, x, 12–18 (quoted above, p. 22), and add the immediately succeeding lines: "E però riprovando si fanno due parti; prima si riprovano le *divizie*, poi si riprova il *tempo* essere cagione di Nobiltà. La seconda parte comincia: 'Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna'" (IV, x, 18–23).

² IV, xv, 19–38. Cf. the following, from the preceding chapter: "Dico adunque: 'Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna.' Dov' è da sapere che opinione di questi erranti è, che uomo prima *villano*, mai *gentile* uomo dicer non si possa; e uomo che figlio sia di villano, similmente mai dicer non si possa gentile. E ciò rompe la loro sentenza medesima quando dicono che *tempo* si richiede a Nobiltà, ponendo questo vocabolo *antico*; perocchè è impossibile per processo di tempo venire alla generazione di Nobiltà per questa loro ragione che detta è, la qual toglie via che villano uomo mai possa essere gentile per opera che faccia, o per alcuno accidente; e toglie via la mutazione di villan padre in gentil figlio; chè, se 'l figlio del villano è pur villano, e 'l figlio suo fia pur figlio di villano, e così fia anche villano il suo figlio; e così sempre mai non sarà a trovare là dove Nobiltà per processo di tempo si cominci" (IV, xiv, 18–39).

We have already seen that Chaucer follows Dante in his emphasis on the error regarding "old *richesse*." He follows him no less closely in this peculiarly characteristic treatment of the *processo d'una condizione*, implicit in *antica*. For in a striking paragraph he too declares that if "gentillesse" were a matter of direct descent, a stock once gentle could never cease to be what it first was.

Eek every wight wot this as wel as I,
 If gentillesse were planted naturelly¹
 Un-to a certeyn linage, down the lyne,
 Privee ne apert, than wolde they never fyne
 To doon of gentillesse the faire offyce;
 They mighte do no vileinye or vyce.²

Chaucer has, to be sure, reversed the emphasis of Dante's exposition from "once base, always base" to "once gentle, always gentle"—a change which grows out of the requirements of his Tale.³ But the argument is Dante's argument.⁴

In a word, Dante's negative treatment of the source of *Gentilezza* involves the implications not only of *ricchezza*, but also of *antica*. The bearing of the first is fairly obvious; that of the second is characterized by Dante's own intellectual subtlety. And both reappear in Chaucer—the first with the repetition of Dante's very phrase; the second, with a masterly compression of the essence of two long chapters into a passage of six lines.⁵

¹ Cf. IV, I, 47-49: "Questo è l'errore dell' umana bontà, in quanto in noi è dalla natura seminata, e che Nobiltade chiamar si dee."

² D 1133-38.

³ It is perhaps due in part, as well, to the fact that the apt figure from Boethius' discussion of *dignities*, of which he makes such consummately effective (and organic) use, suggested itself to him at just this point.

⁴ The reference to Adam and Eve in a discussion of "gentillesse" is of course a commonplace. See the *Parson's Tale*, I, 460; *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 2222 ff.; Wyclif (ed. Arnold), III, 125; etc. But the turn which Dante (and after him Chaucer) gives to the familiar argument is Dante's own.

⁵ Fansler calls attention (*Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, p. 105) to Koeppl's derivation of Chaucer's use of "nacioun" (D 1068) from Jean de Meun's "Par noblesce de nacion" (RR, 19545), and, with his usual admirable caution, expresses doubt of any necessary connection. It is at least worth noting that *nacion*, in precisely Chaucer's sense, occurs in l. 63 of the canzone: "Nè di vil padre scenda Nazon, che per gentil gammal s'intenda." But as in the case of Jean de Meun, so here the parallel is without real significance. *Nassion* occurs in Baudouin de Condé's *Li Contes de Gentilleche* (a poem which I am strongly inclined to think Chaucer knew), l. 11: "Qui gentius est de nassion." See also Jean de Condé's *Li Dis de Gentillesse*, l. 148: "Erent gentil de nacion." My only reason for referring to the word here is to point out that its use by Jean de Meun has no bearing on the case.

The correspondence in the *positive* phase of the discussion is no less striking. The conclusion of the canzone is explicit:

Però nessun si vanti
 Dicendo: Per ischiatta io son con lei;
 Ch'elli son quasi Dei
 Que' c' han *tal grazia* fuor di tutti rei:
 Chè solo Iddio all' anima la dona,
 Che vede in sua persona
 Perfettamente star; sicchè ad alquanti
 Lo seme di felicità s'accosta,
 Messo da Dio nell' anima ben posta.¹

And the comment merely elaborates what the canzone states:

Poi quando dice: "*Chè solo Iddio all' anima la dona*"; ragione è del suscettivo, cioè del soggetto, dove questo divino dono discende, ch' è bene divino dono, secondo la parola dell' Apostolo: "Ogni ottimo dato e ogni dono perfetto di suso viene, discendendo dal Padre de' lumi." Dice adunque che *Iddio solo* porge *questa grazia* all' anima di quello, cui vede stare perfettamente nella sua persona acconcio e disposto a questo divino atto ricevere.²

Precisely so in Chaucer:

Thy gentillesse cometh fro god allone;
 Than comth our verray³ gentillesse of grace.⁴

Dante's entire argument, accordingly, both negative and positive, is resumed in Chaucer's lines—not formally, but with a complete assimilation of its content and with an untrammelled adaptation of it to the more flexible structural outlines of the Tale.⁵

¹ LL. 112-19.

² IV, xx, 47-57. Cf. IV, xx, 24-28: "E rende incontanente ragione, dicendo, che quelli che hanno *questa grazia*, cioè questa divina cosa, sono quasi come Dei, senza macola di vizio. E ciò dare non può, se non *Iddio solo*." The whole of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters should be read.

³ The last words of the preceding chapter (which sum up its theme) are: "ch' è allora frutto di vera nobiltà" (IV, xix, 97-98).

⁴ D 1162-63. Cf. I. 1117, and the *balade*, ll. 19-20.

⁵ The context in the *Purgatorio* of the lines which Chaucer quotes (D 1125-30) embodies once more the doctrine of the *Convivio* as regards descent, and that it should have suggested itself to Chaucer is far more natural than the three lines indicate, when taken by themselves. Dante, at the close of the seventh canto of the *Purgatorio*, is speaking of Peter of Aragon and of his son Alphonso, as contrasted with his other two sons, James and Frederick. Peter, he says,

D'ogni valor portò cinta la corda;
 E se re dopo lui fosse rimasto
 Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
 Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso;

To the verbal parallels already indicated above may be added at least one more. Lines 1152-58 in Chaucer are as follows:

And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
For he was boren of a gentil hous,
And hadde hise eldres noble and vertuous,
And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis,
Ne folwe his gentil auncestre that deed is,
He nis nat gentil, be he duk or erl;
For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.

The general correspondence of these lines with ll. 34-37 of the canzone has been already pointed out. The parallel with the phrasing of the commentary is closer still:

E così quelli che dal padre o da alcuno suo maggiore di schiatta è nobilitato, e non persevera in quella, non solamente è vile, ma vilissimo, e degno d'ogni dispetto e vituperio più che altro villano.¹

And finally, it is worth noting that the Loathly Lady's discussion of poverty stands in close relation to Dante's exposition of riches as *cagione di male*. For Dante too quotes Juvenal's lines, and in an almost identical context:

Verray povert, it singeth properly;
Juvenal seith of povert merily:
"The povre man, whan he goth by the weye,
Bifore the theves he may singe and pleye."²

Ben lo sanno li miseri mercatanti che per lo mondo vanno, che le foglie, che 'l vento fa dimenare, li fan tremare, quando seco ricchezze portano; e quando senza esse sono, pieni di sicurtà cantando e ragionando fanno lor cammino più breve. E però dice il Savio: "se vòto camminatore entrasse nel cammino, dinanzi a' ladroni canterebbe."³

Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede;
Jacomo e Federico hanno i reami;
Del retaggio miglior nessen possiede.

Then come the lines which Chaucer quotes:

Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'umana probitate: e questo vuole
Quei che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami [*Purg.*, VII, 114-23].

The relation to the theme of the *Convivio* is obvious, and the turn which Chaucer gives the passage from *valor* and *probitate* to *gentilezza* makes it clear that the association was in his mind.

¹ IV, vii, 87-92. The same general idea appears in Jean de Meun, ll. 19788-801. But a comparison will leave little question of Chaucer's immediate source.

² D 1191-94.

³ IV, xiii, 101-10. Poverty also appears in the conventional discussions of "gentillesse." See, for example, the passage in Gower referred to above (p. 24, n. 4). But once more Chaucer and Dante elaborate the convention in the same way.

That the *balade* on *Gentillesse* is Chaucer's elaboration of Dante's positive argument in the canzone, under the ever-present influence of Jean de Meun as well, it is now not difficult to see. The negative element appears, of course, in the "old riches" of line 15. But that the canzone was very definitely in Chaucer's mind appears unmistakably from the fifth and sixth lines:

*For unto vertu longeth dignitee,
And noght the revers, sauflly dar I deme.*

*È Gentilezza dovunque è virtute,
Ma non virtute ov' ella;
Siccome è 'l cielo dovunque è la stella,
Ma ciò non e converso.¹*

In Chaucer's treatment of "gentillesse," then, there is a characteristic mingling of all the springs of his inspiration. As in the Fortune *balade*, Jean de Meun, Boethius, and Dante² are all present—the heart of their teaching grasped and assimilated in Chaucer's own thought, and fused in a new and individual expression by his ripened art. There is here no question of originality. Few passages in Chaucer—unless it be the Fortune *balade* itself—show with greater clearness his consummate gift of gathering together and embodying in a new unity the *disjecta membra* of the dominant beliefs and opinions of his day. To overlook that in any study of external influences on Chaucer is to take the chaff and leave the corn.³

If the *Convivio* was known to Chaucer, the question at once arises: Was his use of it confined to the great exposition of *Gentilezza*? I think it was not. I shall make no attempt to adduce all the possible parallels. Two passages in the *House of Fame*, however, seem to be reasonably clear.

The lines that introduce the eagle's demonstration of the way in which all sounds at last arrive inevitably at the House of Fame⁴ have

¹ Li. 101-4.

² In that case Deschamps too! In a volume on the *French Influences on Chaucer*, now in preparation, I shall have occasion to deal more fully with the merging, especially in Chaucer's later borrowings, of many sources. The instance under discussion is absolutely typical.

³ I have discussed certain other matters connected with the Wife of Bath's discourse on "gentillesse" in an examination of Professor Tupper's doctrine regarding Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins, which will shortly appear in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

⁴ *HF*, ll. 729-45.

been variously fathered. Rambeau's ascription of them to the influence of *Paradiso*, I, 109-17,¹ can scarcely be accepted. That Boethius and perhaps Jean de Meun are again involved is pretty clear.² But there are indications also of Chaucer's reading of the *Convivio*. The eagle's exposition begins thus:

Geffrey, thou wost right wel this,
That every kindly thing that is,
Hath a kindly stede ther he
May best in hit conserved be;
Unto which place every thing,
Through his kindly enclyning,
Moveth for to come to,
When that hit is away therfro;
As thus; etc.³

Fansler observes regarding these lines: "In the *Convito*, Treatise III, chap. 3, we find this same idea expressed by Dante, who was doubtless following Boethius, as was Chaucer."⁴ Of that there can be no question. But was Chaucer not following Dante too? One striking detail in the eagle's elucidation is the constant repetition of "kindly stede" or its equivalent:

Thus every thing, by this resoun,
Hath his propre mansioun.⁵
.
.
.
And that the mansioun, y-wis,
That every thing enclyned to is,
Hath his kindeliche stede:
Than sheweth hit, withouten drede,
That kindly the mansioun
Of every speche, of every soun . . .
Hath his kinde place in air.⁶
.
.
.
Hit seweth, every soun, pardee,
Moveth kindly to pace
Al up into his kindly place.⁷

¹ *Englische Studien*, III, 247-48. See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, pp. 61, 95-97.

² With Chaucer's "Light thing up, and downward charge" (l. 746) cf. Boethius: "sursum levitas . . . deorsum pondus" (Lib. III, Prosa 11), which appears in Jean de Meun (ll. 17700-701) as "Les légères en haut volèrent, Les pesans ou centre avalèrent" (see Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIV, 246).

³ *HF*, II, 729-37.

⁴ *LI*, 753-54.

⁵ *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, p. 216.

⁶ *LI*, 827-34.

⁷ *LI*, 840-42.

In Boethius this appears merely as *loca* (without repetition) in the phrase: "nisi quod haec singulis *loca* motionesque conveniunt"; in Jean de Meun (again without repetition), as "leus convenables." I shall quote a few sentences from the beginning of the third chapter of the third Tractate of the *Convivio*:

Onde è da sapere che *ciascuna cosa*, siccome è detto di sopra, per la ragione di sopra mostrata, ha 'l suo speziale amore, come le corpora semplici hanno amore *naturato in sè al loro loco proprio*, e però la terra sempre discende al centro, il fuoco alla circonferenza di sopra lungo 'l cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello. Le corpora composte prima, siccome sono le miniere, hanno amore *al loco, dove la loro generazione è ordinata*. . . . Le piante, che sono prima animate, hanno amore *a certo loco* più manifestamente . . . le quali, se si trasmutano, o muoiono del tutto o vivono quasi triste, siccome cose disgiunte *dal loco amico*. Gli animali bruti hanno più manifesto amore non solamente *al loco*, ma l'uno l'altro vedemo amare.¹

Chaucer's striking emphasis, which is also Dante's, is found in neither of his other sources, and it seems reasonable to suppose, in the light of independent evidence of his knowledge of the *Convivio*, that its influence is present here. The discussion in the *Convivio* starts from precisely the passage in Boethius from which Chaucer took his cue.² It passes beyond it into subtleties with which Chaucer for the moment was not concerned. But its insistent phraseology seems to have stuck in his mind.

There is still another passage in the *House of Fame* which seems to betray the same source.

"Now," quod he tho, "cast up thyn yë;
See yonder, lo, *the Galaxyë*,
Which men clepeth the Milky Wey,
For hit is whyt: and somme, parfey,
Callen hit Wallinge Strete:
That ones was y-brent with hete,
Whan the sonnes sone, the rede,
That highte *Pheton*, wolde lede
Algate his fader cart, and gye."³

¹ III, iii, 5-33.

² Cf. with the close of the first sentence quoted above from the *Convivio* the citations on p. 28, n. 2.

³ *HP*, ll. 935-43.

Rambeau referred this passage to the *Inferno*,¹ where the connection between the galaxy and Phaeton's journey is implied. But the galaxy is not specifically named and the allusion (though undoubted) is by no means obvious. In the fifteenth chapter of the second Tractate of the *Convivio*, however, Dante is dealing with the galaxy explicitly. I shall quote two passages from the beginning of the chapter:

. . . . e siccome la Galassia, cioè quello bianco cerchio, che il vulgo chiama la Via di santo Jacopo.² Perchè è da sapere che di quella Galassia li filosofi hanno avuto diverse opinioni. Chè li Pittagorici dissero che 'l sole alcuna fiata³ errò nella sua via, e, passando per altre parti non convenienti al suo fervore, arse il luogo, per lo quale passò; e rimasevi quell' apparenza dell' arsura. E credo che si mossero dalla favola di Fetonte, la quale narra Ovidio nel principio del secondo di *Metamorfoseos*.⁴

The substitution of the English "Watling Street" for Dante's "Via di santo Jacopo" (cf. "somme . . . callen hit" with "il vulgo chiama") is the obvious thing. And the explicit connection in both (even to verbal agreement) of the origin of the galaxy with the story of Phaeton—which Chaucer characteristically proceeds to summarize—is too striking to need comment. It is of course possible that Chaucer may have known the connection from some other source. No other, so far as I know, has been pointed out, and in view once more of independent evidence of his acquaintance with the *Convivio*, it seems highly probable that he recalled it here.

There is another passage—this time in an unexpected and even incongruous setting—which contains an unmistakable reminiscence of the *Convivio*. Two lines in the *Compleynt of Mars* I have long suspected, from their tone and phraseology, to be a borrowing from Dante, but no definite suggestion for them appears in the *Divine Comedy*. In point of fact, Chaucer is recalling the doctrine of the most intricate and baffling section of the *Convivio*, in which Dante explains and interprets the conflict between his two loves. The second Tractate opens with the canzone beginning: "Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete," addressed to the Intelligences who move the third heaven. The passage in Chaucer, unequivocal

¹ *Inf.* XVII, 106-8 (cf. *Purg.*, IV, 71-72). See *Englische Studien*, III, 245-46.

² II, xv, 8-10.

³ Cf. Chaucer's "ones."

⁴ II, xv, 45-55.

as the reminiscence is, does not involve the more complex subtleties of Dante's argument, and for our purpose these may happily be disregarded. The lines, in their context, are these:

The firste tyme, alas! that I was wrought,
 And for certeyn effectes hider broght
 By him that lordeth ech intelligence,
 I yaf my trewe servise and my thoght,
 For evermore—how dere I have hit boght!—
 To hir, that is of so gret excellence, etc.¹

In the fifth chapter of the second Tractate Dante discusses the *Intelligenze* at length, and a few lines may be quoted:

Poich' è mostrato nel precedente capitolo quale è questo terzo cielo e come in sè medesimo è disposto, resta a dimostrare chi sono questi che 'l muovono. È adunque da sapere primamente, che li movitori di quello sono Sustanze separate da materia, cioè *Intelligenze*, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli. . . . Altri furono, siccome Plato, uomo eccellentissimo, che puosono non solamente tante *Intelligenze*, quanti sono li movimenti del cielo, ma eziandio quante sono le spezie delle cose . . . e vollero, che siccome le *Intelligenze* de' cieli sono generatrici di quelli, ciascuna del suo, così queste fossero generatrici dell' altre cose, ed esempli ciascuna della sua spezie; e chiamale Plato Idee, che tanto è a dire, quanto forme e nature universali. Li Gentili le chiamavano Dei e Dee, etc.²

In this same chapter the effects (*effetti*) of the *Intelligenze* are referred to, but it is in the ninth chapter that this phase of the subject is explicitly treated:

Potrebbe dire alcuno: conciossiacosachè amore sia effetto di queste *Intelligenze* (a cui io parlo), e quello di prima fosse amore così come questo di poi, perchè la loro virtù corrompe l'uno, e l'altro genera? . . . A questa questione si può leggermente rispondere, che lo effetto di costoro è amore, come è detto. . . .³

The emphasis on "effect" is Dante's own: "Dico *effetto*, in quanto," etc.⁴

In Chaucer's lines, now, it must be remembered that it is *Mars*—that is, one of the *Intelligenze* themselves⁵—who is speaking, and

¹ Ll. 164-69.

² II, v, 1-8, 20-25, 28-35. Juno, Vulcan, Minerva, and Ceres are then mentioned.

³ II, ix, 22-27, 31-33. Cf. also II, vi, 109-19.

⁴ II, ix, 43-44.

⁵ Cf. II, vi, 105 ff. Into Chaucer's variation from Dante in his use of "the third heaven" (l. 29) it is not here necessary to go. Mars is not, strictly speaking, one of the

as such he declares that he has been brought hither for "certeyn [i.e., fixed, determined] effectes." In other words, he was brought and set in his place for the *effetti* that belong to the Intelligences—"[e] lo effetto di costoro è amore."¹ And the reference to "him that *lordeth* ech intelligence" is no less clear. The canzone is directly addressed, as we have seen, to the Intelligences, and in the address Dante names his "soave pensier," that went often "a' piè del vostro Sire."² In the comment this line receives its explanation: ". . . questo pensiero che se ne già spesse volte a' piè del Sire di costoro a cui io parlo, ch' è Iddio."³

Chaucer's lines, accordingly, in the light of their source, are clear. Mars complains that as one of the Intelligences he was created by his lord—"the god that sit so hye" (l. 218)—to fulfil the very end of his existence, which end was love. He *has* loved—has given to his lady his true service and his thought, and his love has ended in "misaventure." The cause of his complaint, on which he lays such stress,⁴ lies therefore deep enough. The fact that Dante's whole doctrine of the Intelligences is implicit in two lines is evidence again of Chaucer's power of assimilation. And his ability to "reject what cannot clear him"⁵ is no less striking. For what he takes from the *Convivio* (as well as how he takes it) and what he leaves are equally significant.

There are other passages that Chaucer may have drawn from the *Convivio*, but there are equally possible sources elsewhere. The lines invoking the "firste moeving cruel firmament" in the *Man of Law's Tale*⁶ are in striking accord, in their phraseology, with certain statements of the *Convivio*.⁷ But in this case Chaucer and Dante may be,

Intelligences of the third heaven. But Chaucer's whole conception in the poem is as far removed from that of Dante's canzone as the conception of the *House of Fame* is remote from that of the *Divine Comedy*, and his recollection of certain phrases must be treated, in the one case as in the other, independently of any idea that he is following in Dante's footsteps in his plan. It is only a single idea and its phraseology that is involved.

¹ For the indubitable astrological significance of the next stanza, which describes the lady, see Manly, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, V, 125-26.

² Canzone, ll. 14-16.

³ II, viii, 38-40.

⁴ See the preceding stanza throughout.

⁵ The whole passage in Arnold (*The Second Best*, ll. 13-19) is rather curiously applicable to Chaucer.

⁶ B 295-98.

⁷ See II, vi, 145-151; II, iii, 39-45; II, iv, 19-27.

and probably are, drawing on a common source.¹ The "Etik" passage in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* finds an interesting parallel in the canzone upon which Chaucer drew for his account of "gentilesse."

. . . . for "vertu is the mene,"
As Etik saith.²

Virtute intendo, che fa l'uom felice
In sua operazione.
Quest' è (secondochè l' Etica dice)
Un abito eligente,
Lo qual dimora in mezzo solamente.³

But, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ there is a similar passage in John of Salisbury, and as between the two, honors seem easy.⁵ Such parallels as the two just cited, accordingly, are inconclusive, even though the list might easily be lengthened.

The correspondences, however, in the cases of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, the *Gentilesse balade*, the *House of Fame*, and the *Compleynt of Mars*, are of a different character, and they seem to establish beyond doubt the conclusion tentatively suggested by Koeppel and Paget Toynbee. And the addition of the *Convivio* to Chaucer's library is an important one.

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¹ See Skeat's note on l. 295 (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 148-49).

² Prologue, B-version, ll. 165-66.

³ IV, canzone, ll. 83-87. Cf. IV, xx, 8-10: "dunque ogni Virtute . . . cioè l'abito elettivo consistente nel mezzo."

⁴ *Modern Language Notes*, XXV (March, 1910), 87-89.

⁵ The context in the *Convivio*, however, is closer than in the *Polycraticus* to the context in the *Legend*.

NOTICE OF NEW DEPARTMENT

Hereafter *Modern Philology* will print, in addition to the longer articles constituting the bulk of each number, shorter articles and notes. Many valuable observations and discoveries remain unpublished for years merely because the proper statement of them requires only a page or even less. Some are buried in the footnotes of long articles with which they have little or no connection. The general good demands that discoveries should be published promptly and in such form as to be easily accessible. *Modern Philology* will try to do its part if those who have new information or new ideas will make them known to their fellow-students.

Our appeal for new subscribers has met with many prompt and cordial responses. There has been general recognition of the obligation resting upon each one of us—whether he himself has the time and opportunity for research or not—to help provide the channels through which the results of research can flow to us all. But we need more subscribers yet to enable us to carry out all our plans for enlarging the size and increasing the usefulness of *Modern Philology*. It is hoped that our present subscribers will aid us by words fitly spoken to those who ought to subscribe but do not.

SOME NOTES ON POE'S "AL AARAAF"

The two longer early poems, "Tamerlane" and "Al Aaraaf," have heretofore received but scant attention in proportion to that which has been bestowed on most of Poe's work. "Al Aaraaf," in particular, has been the subject of interpretations and comments the diversity of which indicates that some of the ablest critics of Poe have passed it by with little more than a cursory reading. While "Al Aaraaf" is not a poem of great intrinsic merit, it is the most important production of a period that is significant in the history of Poe's literary development, and for this reason if for no other it is entitled to consideration.

HISTORY OF THE POEM

The facts regarding the publication of "Al Aaraaf" are well known, and are repeated here only for convenience. Poe had published *Tamerlane and Other Poems* in June, 1827, when he was eighteen years of age; and he brought out *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Other Poems* at the close of the year 1829. There is evidence, however, that the poem which occupied the place of honor in the latter collection was virtually completed some months earlier;¹ and it can hardly be doubted that it was written after the publication of *Tamerlane and Other Poems*. If it had been available Poe would almost certainly have included it in the earlier pamphlet; and the verse differs so greatly from that of "Tamerlane," and shows so great an advance toward Poe's later manner that it seems to mark the beginning of a new period in the author's development.² If these conjectures are true "Al Aaraaf" must have been written some time between June, 1827, and the spring of 1829. During most of this time Poe is supposed to have been serving as private and non-commissioned officer in the United States army.

¹ Selections from the poem were printed in the *Yankee* for December, 1829, and a note in the preceding issue seems to show that they were in the hands of the editor at least as early as November. According to Professor Woodberry (*Life of Poe*, 1909, I, 54) William Wirt wrote on May 6, 1829 regarding a poem which the young author had sent him for criticism, and which "must have been 'Al Aaraaf.'" Poe also showed the manuscript to William Gwynn, a Baltimore editor.

² In this connection may, however, be noticed Poe's statement, usually discredited, that he wrote the poems of the *Tamerlane* volume in 1821-22.

"Al Araaf" was reprinted with unimportant changes in the volumes of 1831 and 1845, and a portion of it appeared in the *Philadelphia Saturday Museum* in 1843. In 1845 it received some notoriety from the fact that Poe delivered it before the Boston Lyceum, the members of which had expected a poem composed for the occasion.

PLAN AND MEANING OF THE POEM

"Al Araaf" is in places somewhat obscure, owing in part to the allegorical nature of the subject-matter, in part to involved sentence construction. There seems, however, to be no serious difficulty in the interpretation of the story.

If my understanding of the poem is correct, the entire action takes place on Al Araaf.¹ This is a wandering star, of which Poe said in a footnote to the title: "A star was discovered by Tycho Brahe which burst forth, in a moment, with a splendour surpassing that of Jupiter—then gradually faded away and became invisible to the naked eye."² To this star the poet assigns two attributes.

¹ I should feel more hesitation in contradicting earlier interpreters of the poem if they did not contradict each other, and in some instances even themselves. Professor Harrison thus summarizes the first part of the poem (Virginia ed. of Poe, VII, 161):

"Nesace—personified Beauty—takes up her abode on earth, where surrounded by beauty she reverently looks into the infinite. Flowers are grouped around her to bear her song, in odors, up to Heaven. The Song has to do with the thought that, though humans conceive God after a model of their own, He has revealed himself as a star. Abashed Nesace hears the sound of silence as the eternal voice of God speaks to her, bidding her tell man everywhere that he is guilty (because he believes God is only magnified man?). Let man behold Beauty as the revelation of God. This maiden worshipping a vanishing star dwells on a vanishing island over which she now takes her way."

From an editor usually so careful this is surprising. It is "yon lovely Earth" (l. 30), not "the earth" in which Nesace kneels. God has not "revealed himself as a star," but a "spirit" (l. 82), unknowable in material form,

the shadow of whose brow
What spirit shall reveal? (ll. 100-101).

Nesace is not bidden to tell man that he is guilty, unless "man" includes the inhabitants of the other worlds to which she is sent (ll. 143-50). She neither worships a vanishing star nor dwells on a vanishing island. This last statement is evidently based on a misunderstanding of Poe's note on l. 158—"but left not yet her Therasaean reign." In explanation of the adjective "Therasaean," which he applies to the wandering star, Poe says: "Therasaea, or Therasa, the island mentioned by Seneca, which, in a moment, arose from the sea to the eyes of astonished mariners."

Professor Woodberry is less definite in his outline of the poem, and he does not make quite clear where he supposes the action of the poem to take place. Most of his discussion (*Life of Poe*, A. M. L. series, 1884, pp. 48-50; *Life of Poe*, 1909, I, 60-62) seems to imply that it is on Al Araaf; but he says: "The action of the maiden in whom beauty is personified begins with a prayer descriptive of the Deity, who in answer directs her, through the music of the spheres, to leave the confines of our earth and guide her wandering star to other worlds." Nesace is, however, upon Al Araaf, and this star is so far from the confines of our earth that the latter appears dim (l. 356); and the Deity commands her not to guide, but to leave, her wandering star (l. 143; and compare l. 158).

² A superficial search fails to bring to light any reference by Tycho Brahe to this star; and it is unlikely that such a reference would be significant if it were found. Indeed, I half suspect that the whole note is one of Poe's inventions. In view of Poe's usual

It is the domain of Nesace, a celestial maiden whose mission it is to bear the divine message of beauty from world to world throughout the universe; and it is the abode of certain spirits. "Al Aaraaf" is a poetic spelling of the Arabic *Al Araf*, which according to the Koran is a narrow partition between heaven and hell, inhabited by souls which have not as yet been assigned to either; but Poe takes even greater liberties with the meaning of the term than with its orthography.¹

At the opening of the poem the star, after bearing its mistress and her message to distant spheres, "And late to ours, the favour'd one of God" (l. 25²), is anchored near four bright stars (ll. 16-29). Nesace kneels upon a bed of flowers, whose odors carry her message, or prayer, to heaven (ll. 30-81). In response to this prayer (ll. 82-117) the Deity commands that she and her train disperse themselves throughout the heavens and bear his message to other worlds (ll. 133-50). Part II of the poem opens with a description of the temple or palace on Al Aaraaf to which Nesace takes her way after receiving the divine command (ll. 159-217). Here, in a lyric which is the most effective part of the poem (ll. 226-313), she calls on her sleeping attendants, and bids Ligeia, the personified music of nature, to awaken them. All respond but two, "A maiden angel and her seraph-lover" (l. 336), the latter a spirit from earth. These are so engrossed in their mutual feeling that they fail to hear the summons, and so perish (ll. 340-422).

While the main facts of the slight story seem clear, the allegorical meaning is somewhat more troublesome. Al Aaraaf is

yon lovely Earth
Whence sprang the "Idea of Beauty" into birth
(ll. 30-31; cf. l. 154),

appearance of accuracy in such matters the phrasing is peculiar. In an age when everyone watched the heavens it required no learned astronomer to *discover* a star "which burst forth, in a moment, with a splendour surpassing that of Jupiter." It may have been this consideration which led Poe to change the wording, which in later editions ran: "A star was discovered by Tycho Brahe which appeared suddenly in the heavens—attained, in a few days, a brilliancy surpassing that of Jupiter—then as suddenly disappeared, and has never been seen since."

¹ Poe may have gained his knowledge of *Al Araf* only from Moore's note to the "Second Angel's Story" in the "Loves of the Angels"; but it is probable that he had also read the rather obscure reference in chap. vii of the Koran as translated by Sale, and an interesting passage, too long to quote here, from Sale's "Preliminary Discourse," sec. IV.

² The numbers of lines refer to the text of the 1845 edition as given by Harrison, Virginia ed. of Poe.

and Nesace is its ruler (l. 26). Her significance and the exact nature of her message are nowhere definitely stated, but are to be inferred from her prayer and the reply of the Deity (ll. 82-150). Professor Fruit, in *The Mind and Art of Poe's Poetry* (pp. 24-25) says: "The message is to the effect that the beings whom Nesace has known, have dreamed for the Infinity of the Spirit 'a model of their own'; the will of God though has been done through the career of the wandering star. What that purpose was will become known—

'In the environs of Heaven.'"

Professor Harrison accepts virtually the same view.

A portion of the prayer or "message" reads:

Spirit! that dwellest where, In the deep sky The terrible and fair, In beauty vie!	85
.	
Who livest—that we know— In Eternity—we feel— But the shadow of whose brow What spirit shall reveal? Tho' the beings whom thy Nesace, Thy messenger hath known Have dreamed for thy Infinity A model of their own— Thy will is done, Oh, God!	100 105

The interpretation seems to turn on the question whether the interrogation point at the close of l. 101 marks a full stop or a subordinate pause. If a full stop, then Professor Fruit's reading, which makes important the anthropomorphic conception of Deity, is justified. It seems more probable, however, that ll. 100-101 are merely a rhetorical question in a doxology, or address of praise, which extends through l. 105; and that the sense, directly stated, is: "Though man has imagined thee in his own image, no spirit can know or comprehend thy form."

The reply of the Deity runs:

What tho' in worlds which sightless cycles run,
Link'd to a little system, and one sun—

Where all my love is folly and the crowd	135
Still think my terrors but the thunder cloud,	
The storm, the earthquake, and the ocean-wrath—	
(Ah! will they cross me in my angrier path?)	
What tho' in worlds which own a single sun	
The sands of Time grow dimmer as they run,	140
Yet thine is my resplendency, so given	
To bear my secrets thro' the upper Heaven.	
Leave tenantless thy crystal home, and fly,	
With all thy train, athwart the moony sky—	
Apart—like fire-flies in Sicilian night,	145
And wing to other worlds another light!	
Divulge the secrets of thy embassy	
To the proud orbs that twinkle—and so be	
To ev'ry heart a barrier and a ban	
Lest the stars totter in the guilt of man.	150

Of this Professor Fruit says: "The eternal voice of God answers her in a show of wrath, not towards her, but towards the creatures to whom she had been sent, because they had imagined a model of His Infinity. The consequence is His love is folly, and the crowd think His terrors manifested in the thunder-cloud, the storm, the earthquake, and the ocean-wrath, when in fact there is an 'angrier path' in which they will cross Him." The passage does not seem to me, however, to express present anger or to convey a definite threat, but to emphasize the power of God, and to contrast the resplendency and permanency of Nesace with the briefer span of earthly affairs. The "guilt of man" is not defined. Professor Fruit says it is "evidently that his conception of God is anthropomorphic and therefore utilitarian." More probably, however, the phrase is merely an indefinite term for "sin," which, as it comes from passion, will be prevented by a devotion to the higher beauty.

The state of the spirits in *Al Aaraaf* is pictured in ll. 317-31:

Seraphs in all but "Knowledge," the keen light	
That fell, refracted, thro' thy bounds, afar	
O Death! from eye of God upon that star:	
Sweet was that error—sweeter still that death—	320
Sweet was that error—ev'n with us the breath	
Of Science dims the mirror of our joy—	
To them 't were the Simoom, and would destroy—	

For what (to them) availeth it to know
 That Truth is Falsehood—or that Bliss is Woe? 325
 Sweet was their death—with them to die was rife
 With the last ecstasy of satiate life—
 Beyond that death no immortality—
 But sleep that pondereth and is not “to be”—

With this passage should be connected the sonnet “To Science,” which originally formed a sort of preface to the poem. In these obscure lines the poet seems to picture a state of innocence in which “error”—that is, absence of “Knowledge”—is a blessing.¹ “Knowledge,” or Science, dims even earthly joys, and to these angels whose essence is devotion to beauty it would be a destroying Simoom.² The death or annihilation referred to in ll. 320 and 326–29 is explained by Poe in a footnote:

Sorrow is not excluded from “Al Aaraaf,” but it is that sorrow which the living love to cherish for the dead, and which, in some minds, resembles the delirium of opium. The passionate excitement of Love and the buoyancy of spirit attendant upon intoxication are its less holy pleasures—the price of which, to those souls who make choice of “Al Aaraaf” as their residence after life, is final death and annihilation.

It was “the passionate excitement of Love” which caused the downfall of Ianthé and Angelo, though it must be confessed that their conversation shows little passion in the ordinary understanding of the

¹ This is the most perplexing passage in the poem; and I am not quite certain that l. 317 does not mean just the opposite of what I have assumed above, and that the poet does not try to say that the spirits on Al Aaraaf have knowledge, while seraphs have not. Ll. 317–19 lend themselves more readily to this explanation than to the other; and the distinction between cherubim as spirits of wisdom and seraphim as spirits of love was frequent in the poems of the time, and conspicuous in the “Loves of the Angels.” I am unable, however, to fit this reading with the lines that follow, and particularly with the statement.

Ev’n with us the breath
 Of Science dims the mirror of our joy—
 To them ’t were the Simoom, and would destroy—

where the tenses in the last line clearly imply that the spirits did not have Science. It is just possible that the poet distinguishes between “Science” and the “Knowledge” which was refracted upon Al Aaraaf, the latter being enough to introduce the possibility of death, but not to destroy. This, however, seems fanciful; and if this is the meaning, what is “that error”?

With regard to the attributes of seraphim, it may be said that though the cherubim are sometimes distinguished as “Spirits of Knowledge,” as in the introduction to the “Second Angel’s Story,” their chief characteristic seems to be definable rather as wisdom, and it is hardly to be assumed that the seraphim, the “Spirits of Divine Love,” were wholly without knowledge. Besides, as Moore’s notes more than once remind us, the two orders were continually confused, and reasons of euphony might well have led Poe to prefer “seraph” to “cherub.”

² I am quite unable to understand Professor Fruit’s comment (*Mind and Art of Poe’s Poetry*, pp. 29–30) which seems to interpret the Simoom (l. 323), as Nesace’s summons to her train, or its response.

term. Angelo's long speeches tell of his earthly death, which happened at the time when Al Aaraaf was nearest our planet, and of his translation to that abode of beauty; and both he and Ianthe pay tribute to the beauty of the world.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH POETS SEEN IN "AL AARAAF"

"Tamerlane" is unquestionably imitative of Byron. "Al Aaraaf" as unquestionably shows a new manner. It has been customary to consider Moore as the chief influence in bringing about a change; and Professor Woodberry also names Milton.

It is clear that Poe had been reading "Lalla Rookh," and the "Loves of the Angels," and his indebtedness to Moore's notes is obvious.¹ His own habit of using pedantic erudite notes was doubtless encouraged by the bad example of Moore, though Southey, Shelley, and others were guilty of a similar affectation, and Poe had begun the practice in "Tamerlane." But this indebtedness to the machinery and accessories of Moore's poems does not seem to have been accompanied by much indebtedness to the poems themselves. Except that there is a suggestion of orientalism—and orientalism was in the air from 1810 to 1830—there is little similarity in content or situation. Indeed, I have been able to find no greater likenesses than the reference to many flowers in the passage ll. 42-82, as in several passages of Moore; and such very natural correspondences as that between Nesace's awe and exaltation, ll. 118-21, and that of

¹ It is very likely that the title of the poem was suggested by Moore's note on *Al Araaf*, already quoted. The names and special attributes of several of the flowers mentioned (ll. 42-80)—the *Sephalica*, the *Nyctanthes*, the *Nelumbo*—are taken from the notes to "Lalla Rookh." In some cases Poe did little more than borrow the idea, but in others he merely took a hint which he developed by his own imagination. Thus, Moore writes in the "Fire-Worshippers":

Ev'n as those bees of Trebizond,
Which, from the sunniest flowers that glad
With their pure smile the gardens round,
Draw venom forth that drives men mad,

and adds in a note: "There is a kind of *Rhododendros* about Trebizond, whose flowers the bee feeds upon, and the honey thence drives people mad.—*Tournefort*." Poe develops from this a passage of fifteen lines (ll. 50-65), in which he describes the earthly flower as the prototype of that which produced the nectar in heaven, and represents the honey, not as driving men mad, but as

torturing the bee
With madness, and unwonted reverie—

a conception surely more poetic than that of Moore. Poe's note reads: "This flower is much noticed by *Lewenhoeck* and *Tournefort*. The bee, feeding upon its blossom, becomes intoxicated." "*Lewenhoeck*" is, I surmise, the Dutch scientist, *Leeuwenhoek*, who, according to the biographical dictionaries, was a microscopist and physiologist. He probably owes his place in the note to the sounding quality of his name.

the maiden after her prayer in the "Second Angel's Story."¹ The verse is not that of Moore; except for proper names there are no striking resemblances of vocabulary; and the tone and spirit are different, since Moore is usually telling a story for the story's sake, while Poe is attempting an allegorical presentation of abstract truth. It seems that, though Poe was indebted to Moore for some poetic botany and bits of oriental erudition, he really took few hints of poetic form.

Nor is the indebtedness to other poets easier to trace. In the edition of 1829 the title was followed by a quotation from Milton, Milton is three times referred to in the notes, and there are several suggestions of Miltonic imagery.² In a footnote Poe credits the hint for two slightly affected rhymes to Scott. I have always suspected that his fondness for a special poetic vocabulary of onomatopoeic words, and for sonorous proper names, such as "Al Aaraaf" and "Ligeia" was derived in part from Shelley, but I am unable to trace definite Shelleyan influence in this poem. Nor, more strangely, considering Poe's devotion to Coleridge, is there obvious influence of that poet. Indeed, the verse is, for the work of a boy of twenty, remarkably free from striking imitations; and in some passages, notably the lyric beginning, "Ligeia, Ligeia, my beautiful one," and such lines as

Flap shadowy sounds from visionary wings,

or,

And the Nelumbo bud that floats for ever
With Indian Cupid down the holy river—

Poe shows unmistakably his own later manner.

¹ Poe says:

She ceas'd—and buried then her burning cheek
Abash'd, amid the lilies there, to seek
A shelter from the fervor of His eye;
For the stars trembled at the Deity.
She stir'd not—breath'd not—for a voice was there, 120

and Moore:

Exhausted, breathless, as she said
These burning words, her languid head
Upon the altar's steps she cast,
As if that brain-throb were its last—
Till, startled by the breathing, sigh,
Of lips, that echoed back her sigh,
Sudden her brow again she rais'd;

² A line like

Headlong thitherward o'er the starry sea— (l. 414)

is clearly Miltonic. It is hard to say whether the prevailing influence is Milton, Spenser, or Keats in the following:

High on a mountain of enamell'd head—
Such as the drowsy shepherd on his bed
Of giant pasturage lying at his ease,
Raising his heavy eyelid, starts and sees
With many a mutter'd "hope to be forgiven"
What time the moon is quadrated in Heaven— 160

"AL AARAAF" AND POE'S CRITICAL IDEAS

The idea of beauty indefinitely bodied forth in "Al Aaraaf" seems to foreshadow the critical theory of poetry which Poe formulated in his review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, in 1842, and which is probably better known as restated in the *Philosophy of Composition* and the lecture on the *Poetic Principle*. Poe here defined poetry as "the rhythmical creation of beauty." He took pains, however, to make plain that he meant "no mere appreciation of the Beauty before us—but a wild effort to reach the Beauty above . . . the struggle to apprehend the supernal loveliness."¹ The province of the poem is not, he says, primarily truth, or passion. "In the contemplation of Beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation, or excitement, of the soul, which we recognize as the Poetic Sentiment, and which is so easily distinguished from Truth, which is the satisfaction of the Reason, or from Passion, which is the excitement of the heart."² "In enforcing a truth . . . we must be in that mood which, as nearly as possible, is the exact converse of the poetical."³ "A passionate poem is a contradiction in terms."⁴ There is, however, no conflict or antagonism between beauty and truth or morals; and taste, the arbiter of beauty, is intimately related with both the intellect and the moral sense. It is a corollary to this theory that since the yearning after the supernal beauty leads to sadness, "Melancholy is thus the most legitimate of all the poetical tones."⁵

There is a striking relationship between this theory and the conception of beauty presented in "Al Aaraaf." It is the idea of beauty which the Deity disseminates throughout the universe as his special message, and which is to keep the worlds from tottering in the guilt of man. That an excess of truth, or "knowledge" is fatal to beauty is stated in the prefatory sonnet "To Science," and apparently in the passage ll. 317-25, already quoted. On the other hand the antagonism between beauty and passion is shown by the fact that while love is admirable,

O! how, without you, Love!
Could angels be blest? —(ll. 246-47)

¹ *The Poetic Principle*.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Marginalia*, note on Amelia B. Welby. See also review of Horne's "Orion."⁵ *The Philosophy of Composition*.

excess of passion is fatal:

Heaven no grace imparts
To those who hear not for their beating hearts; 335

and this truth is illustrated by the fall of Angelo and Ianthe.

The thought of melancholy as an accompaniment of beauty is hinted at in the lines on Nesace's temple (ll. 186-89):

But on the pillars Seraph eyes have seen
The dimness of this world: that greyish green
That Nature loves the best for Beauty's grave
Lurk'd in each cornice, round each architrave—

and in the continuation of the same passage, which represents the niches of the temple as filled with earthly statues.¹

That "Al Aaraaf" was intended as a presentation of Poe's view of poetry, or that he had consciously formulated his critical theories in 1829, is hardly to be believed. His first definite utterance on the nature of poetry is found in the somewhat rambling "Letter to B—," prefixed to the volume of poems issued in 1831. This showed Poe to be strongly under the influence of Coleridge; and the essay is most interesting for its acceptance of Coleridge's distinction between poetry and science, and for the young author's attempt to improve on his master's distinction between poetry and romance. The term "beauty" does not occur. It was apparently not until thirteen years after the publication of "Al Aaraaf" that Poe put in definite form the theories associated with his name. Yet it can hardly be doubted, in view of his earlier critical utterances and the nature of his own poetic attempts, that the striking statements in the review of Longfellow's *Ballads*, and in later critical writings, were the expression of ideas that he had long been evolving. If the parallelisms here pointed out are significant, it is probable that he had at least the germs of these ideas at the very beginning of his literary career.

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¹ Poe wrote to Neal: "I have supposed many of the lost sculptures of our world to have flown (in spirit) to the star 'Al Aaraaf'—a delicate place, more suited to their divinity."

THE PLAN OF THE "CANTEBURY TALES"

If Ferdinand Brunetière could be admitted to the counsels of latter-day scholarship he would have something pertinent to say about the much-discussed plan of the *Canterbury Tales*. With some reference to his *L'Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, he would emphasize the obvious facts that *The Book of the Tales of Canterbury* is an ingenious variation of a popular literary species, the story book; that there was brought to bear upon this *genre* a *motif* that had before been repeatedly proved, that of the pilgrimage; and finally—what is known, but sometimes not well remembered—that Chaucer's character book, the General Prologue, is a vivid realization in skilfully dramatic combination of that form of social satire which is specifically designated the *États du monde*.¹ These elements of Chaucer's scheme had appeared before the *Canterbury Tales*, apart and in certain combinations; their finished incorporation into his great human comedy can be explained only with reference to Brunetière's "seul homme."

And yet, as the great French critic would have been the first to note, there were mutations and combinations of these elements in antecedent literature which show what may be called their natural aptitudes. The threefold classification of men into those who fight, those who pray, and those who work appears at least as early as Alfred's Boethius (Chap. xvii; Sedgefield's ed., p. 40), not to mention Plato's husbandmen, soldiers, and philosophers in the second book of the *Republic*. Throughout the Middle Ages the classification was frequently employed; as, for instance, by Hugues de Bersil,² who tells us in his Bible that the three orders were ordained, "Quant Diex nous ot d'enfer rescous." It was in the failure of the estates to perform their assigned functions that the mediaeval Jeremiah and satirist found their opportunity. In the *De diversis ordinibus* (Wright, *Latin Poems*, Camden Society, 1841; p. 229) we learn that the *comites* and *milites* devour the substance of the poor; the world is filled with priests but scarcely a sober one is found; and the poor man would rather die than work. Similar censure may be noted in Deschamps' *Estas du monde* (II, 226 ff.) and in many other places. Of course the *États du monde* was an elastic

¹ See P. Meyer, *Romania*, IV, 385 ff.

² *Histoire littéraire*, XVIII, 816 ff.; *Romania*, XVIII, 553 ff.

classification, so that general satire upon the clergy easily becomes special satire upon cardinals, monks, and friars; and particular attention is given to merchants, lawyers, etc. In the *Livre de l'exemple du riche homme et du ladre* (Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, 176 ff.) we find about thirty different classes (approximately the number of Chaucer's pilgrims), including gamblers, tavern-keepers, and parasites. Particularly interesting as anticipating the Wife of Bath, who alone among Chaucer's pilgrims is not introduced specifically as the representative of a calling, is the recognition of matrimony as one of the *états*. Jean de Condé, for instance, after attacking in his *Dis des Estas dou monde* (ed. Scheler, II, 371 ff.) clerks, prelates, knights, princes, justices, squires, etc., turns his attention to married people. Matrimony is similarly classified in the *Estas du siècle* of the *Rec. génér. d. fabliaux* (II, 264). Rutebeuf's *La vie du monde* (vss. 178 ff.; Jubinal, II, 44) puts the matter very neatly:

Sor totes autres ordres doit-on mult honorer
L'ordre de mariage et amer et garder :

Certes c'est grant douleurs que je ne puis trouver
En cest siècle estat à homs se puist salver.

Professor Tupper (*Nation*, October 16, 1913, 354 ff.) reminds us that Venus, the patron saint of pilgrims, is particularly represented in Chaucer's company by the Wife of Bath. However, from what has been said above, it will be clear that a reservation among the pilgrims had been made for her long before Chaucer's book was written.

In pre-Chaucerian literature, then, we have well defined the type which Chaucer splendidly realized in the General Prologue. Moreover, we find there anticipations of his narrative adaptation of that type. The *Roman de carité*, which Professor Kittredge has shown that Chaucer knew, is, like the *Canterbury Tales*, a book of travel, with the differences that the poet visits the estates of the world instead of traveling in their company, and that his destination is not Canterbury or any other place on the map but the uncertain abode of Charity. She can be found neither among the lawyers at Bologna nor among the doctors at Salerno; the monks know nothing of her. And so after seeking Charity in vain among the men who fight and the men who pray, the poet turns to the "peuple menu." With this story one naturally associates not only such books as the *Speculum stultorum* and the *Architrenius*, but the *Pèlerinage* of Deguillville, with whose work Chaucer was acquainted.

That in these uses of the travel or pilgrimage *motif*, adjusted more or less closely to the *États du monde*, we are concerned chiefly with allegory should not disturb us; because allegory and social satire go hand in hand and because mediaeval allegory is nearer akin to Chaucer's realism than is direct satire. When we seek prototypes for the vividly described Canterbury pilgrims we turn to the *Romance of the Rose* or *Piers Plowman*; the figures on the wall of the garden of love, Fals-Semblaunt, the Duenna, have much to teach the student of the Prologue. In the Middle Ages the literature of realism grows easily in the soil of symbolism. "Every devout or undevout frequenter of the church in that time," writes Professor Saintsbury, "knew Accidia and Avarice, Anger and Pride as bodily rather than ghostly enemies, furnished with a regular uniform, appearing in recognized circumstances and companies, acting like human beings." Moreover, the vividly seen, graphically represented Sins are closely associated with the several estates. In the *Marriage of the Daughters of the Devil* (Meyer, *Romania*, XXIX, 54 ff.) each calling has its pet sin—and one of the "callings" is matrimony! The devil, we are told, married *Maueisté*, and of the happy union were born Simony, Hypocrisy, Ravine, Usury, Treachery, Sacrilege, False Service, Pride, and Lechery. In time all these daughters except Lechery were married: Simony to the Prelates, Hypocrisy to the Monks, Plunder to the Knights, Usury to the Bourgeoisie, Treachery to the Merchants, Sacrilege to the Laity, False Service to *prévôts* and bailiffs, and Pride to the *dames* and *damsels*. Such associations as we have here will suggest further that there was ample precedent in pre-Chaucerian satire concerned with the estates of the world for that attention which Chaucer gives in the *Canterbury Tales* to the Seven Deadly Sins.¹

So far, then, the approaches would seem to be clear, not only to Chaucer's graphic description of his pilgrims but to the narrative turn which he has given his social satire. To Chaucer's combination of pilgrimage and vividly described pilgrims *Piers Plowman* furnishes the nearest analogue. Chronology, at least, permits us to believe that the author of the *Canterbury Pilgrimage* knew of the *Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Truth*. At all events the episode shows an easy development of social satire along narrative lines and in the direction of realism. That something like this might have

¹ See Professor Tupper's admirable article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., XXII, 93 ff.

grown in Chaucer's mind as well as in that of the alliterative poet seems, in the light of all that I have said, a matter of no great wonder. That, further, our poet should have grafted the social satire in narrative form upon the stock of the familiar story-book type is something easily credited to Brunetière's "seul homme." Certainly, if we take into account Sercambi's *Novelle* on the one hand (Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer*; Young, *Kittredge Anniversary Volume*) and *Piers Plowman* on the other, we find ourselves on the very threshold of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Chaucer's variation of the story-book type is, therefore, one for which pre-Chaucerian literature prepares us. Not that we can wholly account for it by reference to any natural law in the literary world. As Professor Manly remarks,¹ "You have to take account of the presence and absence of genius"; and as Brunetière says, "one man is often sufficient to deviate the course of things." But the habitation of genius is not a waste place; the Muse does not command the genius to build without bricks or straw. There were visions of heaven and hell before the *Divine Comedy*; and plays both courtly and Senecan before Shakspeare. The interesting question raised by the plan of the *Canterbury Tales* is not one of immediate sources, but one of literary aptitudes and tendencies. Chaucer, no doubt, followed the road to Canterbury, and certainly he saw by the light of good-fellowship the streets and taverns of London. We may well believe that he made a pilgrimage similar to the one of which he writes, and we must believe that in the custom-house and in the French wars he saw merchants from overseas and knights of courtesy. That he had a number of first-hand and vivid impressions is perfectly clear. But besides having vital relations with the world of men, Chaucer found himself in the currents and cross-currents of many literary forces, setting more or less strongly in definite directions. It has not been attempted here to show that Chaucer was the creature of a relentless law of literary evolution; far less that his work was done for him by his predecessors. Rather it appears that many were groping where Chaucer found the way, but that he spoke in his admirably effective manner on pretty definite hints in antecedent literature.

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¹ "Literary Form and the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, IV, 577 ff.

A FEW NOTES ON "THE HARROWING OF HELL"

In his paper on "The Harrowing of Hell" (Vol. XVI, Part II, *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*) Professor Karl Young has rendered a distinct service to the student of liturgical drama. The texts which he there offers in a series conforming to the various stages in the development of the Harrowing of Hell theme in connection with the Easter office, as well as his introductory and concluding remarks, have given a new stimulus to the investigations in this part of the liturgical field. All the more, then, it is to be regretted that Professor Young does not reach a definite conclusion. And this seems to be due to the fact that he overlooked two points of especial significance in this connection: (1) the importance of the Great Sabbath, the day before Easter, in connection with this theme; (2) the evidence of the liturgical element in the later vernacular plays. Without attempting a detailed discussion of this subject at this time, I nevertheless venture the following suggestions:

Professor Young says that a conclusion which would accept the Harrowing of Hell scene in the liturgical drama as an adaptation from the vernacular would be hazardous. This seems to me a far too mild expression for the point in question. Such a conclusion would appear extremely improbable at the very outset, since we know the position of the clergy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in regard to extra-ecclesiastical plays. Besides, the liturgical tags in the later vernacular plays, especially those in the German language, present sufficient evidence in refutation of such a conclusion. See, for example, the "Alsfelder Spiel," *Z.d.A.*, III, 477 ff. Without, therefore, going into the evidence offered by the texts of the *Munich Breviary*, the *Cologne Agenda*, the *Processional of St. John of Dublin*, the *Rawlinson MS*, the *Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking*, the *Bamberg Agenda*, the *Sacerdotale and Obsequiale of Eichstätt*, I sought another avenue of approach, the emphasis upon which had been strengthened by Professor Craig's suggestions in his paper on "The Old Testament Plays."

The position of the "Descent into Hell" in the *Church Year* is a matter of the history of liturgy and dogmatics. As early as the fourth century, Athanasius, the "Pater Orthodoxiae," used the argument of the "Descent" in defense of the doctrine of the true humanity in Christ. The first official statements of the descent into hell were formulated in 359 and 360, at the Synods of Sirmium in Pannonia, Nicae in Thrace, and Constantinople. A few decades later the doctrine is found in the confessions of the church of Aquileia.

Since the earliest days, the Great Sabbath had been celebrated with special solemnity (see *Apostolic Constitutions*; Lactantius, *Instit.* VII, 19; Jerome *ad Matth.* XXV, 6). Since Epiphanius (403), the time of Christ's descent was fixed as the night before Easter. In a homily (published by W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1859-62, ascribed to Polybius) he describes with dramatic vividness how the Lord broke down the portals of hell, overcame the spirits of darkness, and then in the company of thousands of angels led the believers of the Old Testament, beginning with Adam, out of limbus to paradise. Whether his source was the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (whose date is now conceded to be not earlier than the fourth century) is of no consequence here. Since that time the descent was commemorated on the Great Sabbath, and homilies in defense of the doctrine were read on that day (cf. Alt, *Kirchlicher Gottesdienst*, 573). Moreover, since the earliest times the descent theme had a prominent place in the liturgy of the Great Sabbath. In an old hymn of that day the passages occur: "Haec nox est, in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus *ab infernis* Victor ascendit.—O vere beata nox, quae sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua Christus *ab infernis* resurrexit."

In the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great the *Praefatio in Sabbato Sancto* contains the following reference to Christ: "qui inferorum claustra dirumpens, victoriae suae clara vexilla suscepit, et triumphato diabolo, victor a mortuis resurrexit" (*MPL*, 78, col. 91). In the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory the Great the Antiphons and Responses of the first Nocturn of that day treat of the Death and Burial of Christ, those of the second and third principally of the Descent and Planctus, while the Matins and Vespers take up the Planctus and the Easter Story. Among the Antiphons

of the second Nocturn occurs first in order the "Elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae"; and immediately after that "Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam" (MPL, 78, col. 768).

It should be noted also that the liturgical responses in the later liturgical plays present a very striking similarity to a dramatic sermon of Augustine on the Descent (MPL, 39, col. 2059 ff.), while the subject is treated at length by the same man and mention made of the fathers who were saved from limbus by Christ in a homiletic Epistola (MPL, 33, col. 711 f.). The sermon published by Mr. Rand (*Mod. Phil.*, II) would not seem to have nearly the same value as evidence in this connection, because it is a Good Friday homily. Another fact that should not be overlooked is this, that in the *Egerer Spiel* there is an awakening of Christ in the grave after the Setting of the Watch before the Harrowing of Hell, which precedes the Resurrection.

There is no doubt then that the germ of the Harrowing of Hell play was contained in the liturgy and had as its nucleus the "Tollite Portas" Antiphon. The development most probably took place in two directions. In one case the scene remained a part of the Great Sabbath ceremonies, as we see in the "Ordo of Ruswil," *Z.d.Ph.*, XVIII, 459. In this instance the procession, which had formerly taken place about midnight, was merely set forward to nine o'clock. In the other case the nucleus of the Great Sabbath Descent liturgy became the introductory scene of the Resurrection drama by a deliberate change, and was placed in the new Ordines just before Matins on Easter morning. This was undoubtedly due to the powerful dramatic appeal of the story and its favor with the laity. The *Augsburg Ritual*, as well as those mentioned above, shows the later development of this growth. See Alt, *Das Kirchenjahr*, 364.

The arguments advanced above are, I think, fully substantiated by the liturgical tags in the German passion plays even down to the earliest one, which Bartsch (*Germ.*, VIII, 273) places at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In this there occurs a Harrowing of Hell scene with the Antiphon "Advenisti Desiderabilis." At any rate, the above aphoristic suggestions would seem to be worth investigating thoroughly.

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A FORERUNNER OF WARBURTON'S COOK

Warburton's story of the destruction of his old manuscript plays by his cook has been accepted with reservations by many students, and doubted in its entirety by some. Greg, in his article "The Bakings of Betsy" in *The Library* for 1911, taking the most charitable view of Warburton's account of his loss, shows that in all likelihood a large part of Warburton's list of plays came from entries in the Stationers' Register and only a small part from titles of plays actually in his possession. While Greg's explanation of a possible confusion of the two lists, and the reasonableness of the story—for doubtless cooks in various centuries have prized manuscripts for pie baking—may bolster our faith in the antiquary, the following passage, in print before Warburton's day, suggests a possibility that the borrowed list of plays was accompanied by a borrowed story. The supposed editor of *Naps upon Parnassus*, 1658, composed of "Such Voluntary and Jovial Copies of Verses, as were lately receiv'd from some of the Wits of the Universities," after many mock apologies in his "Advertisement to the Reader" for the absence of the author's name on the title-page, continues:

If neither of these two Reasons will satisfie thee, know in the third place, that I indeed do not know, neither can learn his Name. I found these Poems in a dark, blind Ale-house, where the Authour had with a cup too much, obnubulated his Muse, and so forgot, and left them behind. To speak truly, being unwilling to rob the world of so much Ingenuity, (I say) like the desperate St. George, redeem'd these Ethiopian Virgin-Poems, out of the Jaws of that fell Dragon, (the furious gaping Oven) which, (even when I had first bestridden the threshold) yawn'd for them. Much adoe I had to recover Them out of the good Womans hands, who left the bottoms of her Pies (that baking) in very great jeopardy, for want of them: yet at last I did get them, as many as you see there are of them. I am apt to believe there were more once, but the injury of Fate ha's obliterated the rest. As many as could be found, hast thou here (Reader) carefully collected, by the sedulity and expences of

Thy loving Friend

Adoniram Banstittle,

alias Tinderbox.

Dated May 30. 1658
from the Apollo in
Fleetstreet

C. R. BASKERVILL

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MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1915]

QUEEN MARGARET'S ENTRY INTO LONDON, 1445

Dr. H. N. MacCracken, in 1910, speaking of Stow's ascription of various poems to Lydgate, remarked that certain "verses for pageants at the entry of Queen Margaret" into London in 1445, which the chronicler calls Lydgate's, "have not survived."¹ The verses were afterward found in Harleian MS 3869 by Professor Carleton Brown, who published them in the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1912.² Dr. Brown, however, did not observe the occurrence of a fragmentary copy of this same piece, in Stow's own handwriting, in Harleian MS 542 (fols. 101a-2b).³ It is there entitled, "The Speches in the pagiauntes at y^e cominge of Qwene Margaret wyfe to Henry the syxt of that name, kynge of England, the 28th of Maye 1445, y^e 23^d of his reigne."⁴

Harleian MS 542 was used by Richard Thomson in 1827⁵ to supplement the brief account of Queen Margaret's Entry in Stow's *Annals*. He prints two of the speeches (vss. 1-32). In 1831 J. G. Nichols also described the entry, referring to Fabyan and to "a copy of Lydgate's Speeches in the Pageants, Harl. MSS 542."⁶

Nichols observed that the text of Queen Margaret's Entry in Harleian MS 542 is incomplete. "At Leadenhall," he remarks, "was a speech by Madame Grace, who is styled the 'Chauncelor de

¹ "Minor Poems of Lydgate," *E.E.T.S.*, Part I (1911), p. xi.

² VII, 225-34.

³ This manuscript is described in the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (1808), I, 346, as "a Book in 4to, containing part of the Collections of Mr. John Stowe; almost all written by his own hand." An examination of the manuscript shows that fols. 101 and 102 are in Stow's handwriting.

⁴ Harleian MS 3869 must have contained a very similar title, but most of it has been pared away. "1445. y^e 28 of may. . . . the cite of london" (in another hand—not the scribe's) are distinguishable at the top of the first folio, just above "Atte the briggge foot in Suthwerke." Dr. Brown has been able to make out a *Quene margaret* also.

⁵ *Chronicles of London Bridge*, pp. 275-77. For the show, cf. also Arthur Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, 1820, p. 268; William Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, 1823, p. 235 (following Taylor, but citing, erroneously, Stephen Jones's *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812); Charles Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, 1892, p. 87; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 1903, II, 170. Chambers cites (besides Stow and Fabyan) William Gregory, *Chronicle of London* (ed. by Gairdner, Camden Society, 1876), p. 186, and *Chronicle of London* (ed. by E. Tyrrell, 1827), p. 134. There is a brief account of the entry in Grafton.

⁶ *London Pageants*, p. 21.

Dieu,' and there were doubtless others; but the writer of the MS above mentioned turns off to copy Lydgate's poem of 'London Lickpenny.'"¹

What Nichols took for Madame Grace's speech in Harleian MS 542 consists of three stanzas—the first standing at the bottom of fol. 101b and the other two at the top of the next page, fol. 102a—and *London Lickpenny* follows, beginning on fol. 102a immediately below the two stanzas. The stanza on fol. 101b is, as Nichols saw, the beginning of Madame Grace's speech. He failed to observe, however, that the first word on fol. 102a does not agree with the guide-word at the foot of fol. 101b, and that the two stanzas on fol. 102a (immediately before *London Lickpenny*) are not a part of the speech of Madam Grace, but the conclusion of the whole piece.² The scribe (Stow) did not "turn off" to copy anything. There is simply a lacuna in the manuscript between fol. 101b and fol. 102a. Vss. 41–155 are lost.³

One circumstance seems to prove that Stow's text in Harleian MS 542 was not derived from Harleian MS 3869. The seventh verse in Harleian MS 3869 is incomplete, lacking the rhyme.⁴ It reads: "with herte with worde with dede." In Harleian MS 542 the verse runs: "With herte with worde with dede your highnesse to advaunce." This is over measure, to be sure, but the rhyme-word (*advaunce*) is what is required.

Neither Harleian MS 542 nor Harleian MS 3869 names the author. Stow, as we have seen, attributes the speeches to Lydgate, and Nichols calls them "Lydgate's speeches."⁵ Chambers echoes Stow.⁶ Professor Brown finds the evidence of style conclusive for Lydgate's authorship.⁷ But President MacCracken,

¹ *Ibid.* MacCracken, p. xlvii, decides against Lydgate's authorship of *London Lickpenny*.

² They were spoken "at Seynt Michael's in Querne."

³ Vss. 40–154 in Brown's numbering (he does not count the seventh verse of the first stanza). Stow's account of the pageants in his *Annals* proves that his copy was not originally defective to this extent. He had before him as much as is contained in Harleian MS 3869.

⁴ In Harleian MS 3869 this verse is inserted between the sixth and eighth, as if the scribe had forgotten it, and had copied it in later—perhaps from memory. Brown shows it "interlined" (p. 226), but does not count it.

⁵ Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 21; cf. also Thomson, p. 277.

⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170.

⁷ *Modern Language Review*, VII, 225.

who has been consulted on the matter, is strongly of opinion that the language of the piece is quite inconsistent with Lydgate's known habits of speech.

The stanzas from Harleian MS 542 follow:

Harleian MS 542, fols. 101a-2a]

The speches in the pagiantt at y^e cominge
of Qwene margaret, wyfe to henry the
syxt of that name, kynge of england,
the 28. of maye in the yere of our
lorde. 1445 y^e 23. of his reigne.

At the brigge foot in Suthwerke | pees and plente |
Ingredimini et replete terram.¹

moast cristen princesse | by influence of grace
doughter of Jherusalem | oure plesaunce
and ioie | welcome as ever princes was
with hert entier | and hoole affiaunce
Causer of welthe | ioie and aboundaunce 5
youre Citie | your people | your subgetts all
with hert | with worde | with dede | your highnesse to advaunce
welcome | welcome | welcome | vnto you call |

At noes shippe vpon the brigge
Jam non vltra irascar super terram. |

so trustethe yowr people | with assuraunce |
through yowr grace | and high benignitie 10
twixt the Realmes two | England and fraunce
pees shall approche | Rest and vnite
mars set asyde | with all his crueltye
whiche to longe hathe trowbled the Realmes twayne
bydyng yowr comforte | in this adversitie 15
moost cristen princesse | our lady sovereyne |

moast cristen princesse | owre ladi sovereyne²
Right as whilom | by gods might and grace
noe this ark dyd forge and ordayne

¹ Evidently a "scripture," i.e., a writing or motto on the pageant. The appropriateness of this, as well as that of the other "scripture"—at Noah's ark—is apparent. Thomson points out (pp. 276 and 277) that these are from Genesis (9:1, and 8:21).

² This line is crossed out, as if Stow thought he had made a scribal error. Thomson fails to print this line, as if he, too, considered it a scribal fault. But without it, the stanza has but seven verses; Harleian MS 3869 repeats the line; so we may presume the author intended it to remain—especially as he uses it—or verses much similar to it—later.

where in he and his | might escape and passe 20
 the flud of vengeance | caused by trespasse
 conveyed aboute as god list hym to gye
 by means of mercy | found a restinge place
 after the flud | vpon this armonie |

fol. 101b]

vnto the dove | that browght the braunche of pees 25
 resemblinge yowr symplenesse columbyne
 tokyn and signe | the flood shuld cesse
 conduite by grace | and power devyne
 sonne of comfort | gynneth faire to shine
 by yowr presence | whereto we synge & seyne 30
 welcome of ioye | right extendet lyne
 moost cristen princesse | owr lady sovereyne |

now at draught brigge,¹

At leden hall | madam grace Chaunceler de dieu

Oure benigne princesse | and lady sovereyne
 Grace convey you forth | and be your gide
 in good lyfe longe | prosperously to reyne 35
 Truthe and mercye | together bene alied
 Justice and peace | thes susters shall provide
 Twixt Realmes twayne | stedfast love to set
 God and Grace | the parties have applied
 now the susters | have them kist and mett |² 40

fol. 102a]

This storie to your highnes | wolde expresse
 the great Resurrection generall
 where of our feithe | berethe pleyne wnesse
 the ferefull sowne | of Trumpe Judiciall
 vpon the people | that sodeynly shall calle 160
 eche man to make acompte | and reoning
 ryght as his conscience | bewreyen shall
 allbe it pope | Emperour | or Kynge |

¹ A space is left in both MSS at this point, as if the scribes expected to insert one, or perhaps two, stanzas later.

² The guide-words at the foot of fol. 101b are "pronostike of p"—the first words of the next stanza ("pronostike of pees") as given in Harleian MS 3869. The fact that the first stanza on fol. 102a begins with other words should have warned Nichols that there is a lacuna here. From Harleian MS 3869 we see that the next verse is not 41 but 156.

QUEEN MARGARET'S ENTRY INTO LONDON, 1445 57

who hath well doōn to lyf predestinate	
what ioie what blis how great ¹ felicitie	165
vnto the saved of god is ordinate	
no tonge can tell none erthly eis can see	
Joye laude Rest pees & perfect vnitie	
Trivmphe of eternall victorie	
with fruition of the Trinitie	170
by contemplation of his glorie	
deo gracias. AMEN.	

The first stanza of "london liepenye" follows on fol. 102a.

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¹ Stow wrote *greatly*, and then crossed out the *-ly*.

A FURTHER WORD AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

In his article "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays,"¹ Mr. Craig brings forward and upholds a new theory for the source of the most common series of Old Testament plays found in the various cycles and "Passions." M. Sepet² had maintained with much brilliant erudition that the Christmas play of *The Prophets of Christ*, which had its origin in the Advent and Christmas matin lessons drawn from the pseudo-Augustinian sermon *De Symbolo*, was the source for these plays. This Christmas procession of the prophets was lengthened by the addition of new prophets;³ it was amplified by the expanding of these prophecies into plays, which, when they had grown too unwieldy, according to M. Sepet, fell away from the original procession only to unite again finally to form the cycles of Old Testament plays as we have them.

Although this theory has been very generally accepted, there have always seemed to be fundamentally weak links in the chain of evidence; and all who are interested in the subject must therefore welcome Mr. Craig's new and well-sustained theory that these cycles arose rather "from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the *lectiones* and accompanying ritual of the church."⁴ He goes on to show that most of these plays evince definite and frequent traces of the antiphons and responses of matins from Septuagesima Sunday to Passion Sunday, and that they present only those stories which are given in the *Liber Responsalis*⁵ for this same period. The *lectiones* for this period cover the greater part of Genesis and Exodus, but the choral responses which follow take up only the Creation and Fall; Cain and Abel; Noah and the Flood; Abraham and

¹ Hardin Craig, in *Mod. Phil.*, X., (April, 1913), pp. 473-87.

² Sepet, "les Prophètes du Christ," in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXVIII (1867), 1 ff., 210 ff.; XXIX (1868), 205 ff., 261 ff.; XXXVIII (1877), 367 ff.

³ Rouen MS y. 110. For text see A. Gasté, *Ordinarium ecclesiae Rotomagensis, Festum Asinorum*, in "les Drames liturgiques de la cathédrale de Rouen," in *Revue catholique de Normandie*, II, 349-72, 477-500; DuCange, *Glossarium*, under "Festum Asinorum." In this *Processus* the number of the prophets of the sermon and of the simplest play (that of S. Martial of Limoges; for text see Du Ménil, *les Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, Paris, 1897) is doubled, and Balaam and Nebuchadnezzar have each a play based on their respective prophecies of Christ.

⁴ Craig, p. 473.

⁵ See Migne, "Pat. Lat." LXXVIII, *S. Gregorii magni liber responsalis*, cols. 725 ff.

Isaac; Isaac, Jacob, and Esau; Joseph and his Brethren; Moses and the Exodus. As one sees at a glance, these stories are also those usually dramatized in Old Testament cycles.¹

It is not my purpose, however, to discuss Mr. Craig's article. Rather I desire to offer suggestions on two points which he brings forward and then add what seems to me a bit of interesting and important confirming evidence for this theory of the origin of the Old Testament plays drawn from my own comparison of the Breviary and the plays, which results in the same conclusions as those of Mr. Craig.

Of the *Ordo Joseph*² and the "widely current play of Joseph and his Brethren," Mr. Craig says, "the material of the play would indicate that, although it seems to have an existence independent of the cycles, it belongs to the group [Old Testament cycle plays] to be treated later. There is, however, in several liturgical plays of the Slaughter of the Innocents, a confusion of the Rachael who utters the *planctus* with Rachael, the wife of Jacob and the mother of Joseph, which may have suggested the composition of the play."

I should like to suggest that, instead of a confusion of the two Rachael, there has always been a real and intimate connection between the two. Indeed, in a certain sense, there is but one Rachael. As regards Matt. 2:18, from which the Slaughter of the Innocents derives the name *Ordo Rachaelis*, the quotation from Jeremiah³ came to the mind of the evangelist, because he remembered that Bethlehem was the city of Rachael, for there she died and there she lies buried. She, as Jacob's beloved, was pre-eminently the mother of the Hebrews, and so he, with effective picturesqueness, used her name to indicate the mourning motherhood of Bethlehem, just as Jeremiah, also with a memory of her as the ancestress of

¹ That these plays often took their beginning in the troping of these responses which follow the matin *lectiones* seems clear to me from the interesting text of the *Ordo representationis Ade* (K. Grass, *Das Adamspiel*, Halle, 1891). The play opens with the chorus chanting the first *lectio* of matins on Septuagesima Sunday, which begins, *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*. The response to this is the reiteration of the opening sentence of the *lectio*, and its versicle is, *Formavit igitur Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae*. The Adam proceeds: *Qua finita* (namely the *lectio* named above) *chorus cantet: R[esponsorium]*:

Formavit igitur dominus,
Quo finito dicat figura:
Adam! Qui respondet: Sire!
FIGURA:
Fourmé tel ai
De limo terre.

ADAM: Ben le sai.
FIGURA:
Je t'ai fourmé a mun semblant,
A m'imagene t'ai fait de tere
Ne moi devez ja mover guere.

² Craig, p. 476; also K. Young, "A Liturgical Play of Joseph and His Brethren," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI (1911), 33-37.

³ Jer. 31:15.

the Israelites, had in the first place made her name stand for the grief-stricken parenthood of Israel at the time of the slaughter and transportation of the great exile. The name of Jacob is very often similarly used for the whole people.¹

The only value of calling attention to this is to throw into greater relief the probably pure origin of the plays of Joseph in the matin lessons and responses and in the many sermons of the Lenten period. From very early patristic times, wholly independently, so far as I am able to discover, of the *planctus* of Rachael, and its connection with his mother, Joseph was regarded as foreshadowing Christ,² by reason of the special love of his father for him, because he was sold for thirty pieces of silver, and because he showed the spirit of forgiveness and saved his people. On the other hand, I have not found in the Joseph story any allusions to the Slaughter of the Innocents or, in the Slaughter, to Joseph.

The second point is in connection with the *Ordo Representationis Ade*³ and Mr. Craig's statement that "the Adam is also singular in the fact that Adam and Eve are carried off to Hell before the murder of Abel, a feature which does not elsewhere appear."⁴

Of course we have several plays, as *la Nativité*⁵ and *la Résurrection*,⁶ the introductory scenes of which are the Creation and Fall, which close with the haling of Adam and Eve to Hell, and lack a Cain and Abel scene. In *la Nativité* groups of prophets with their prophecies bridge the interval between the Fall of Man and the Advent of Christ. But the Vienna *Genesis*,⁷ which is evidently a

¹ Jer. 31:11.

² See Migne, "Pat. Lat.," XXXIX, *Sermones supposititii S. Augustini*, col. 1765-1776: "Jacob Dei Patris, Joseph Christi typum gessit, Fratres Joseph Judaeos et peccatores designant," etc.; see also "L'Estoire Joseph" (MS of thirteenth century); *Gesellsch. f. Rom. Lit.*, XII (1905), 31 ff., and *Heidelberger Passionspiel* in "Bibl. des Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart," CL. This *Heidelberger Passion* makes the connection between Christ and Joseph on the ground of the thirty pieces of silver: see pp. 127 ff. Joseph is also made a prototype of Christ in *Die Dichtung des Mittelalters*, "Deutsch. Nat. Lit.," Band 3, Erster Teil, 192-93.

³ K. Grass, *Das Adamspiel*, Halle, 1891; V. Luzarche, *Adam*, Tours, 1854; extract in K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1908, 68 ff. (*neuvième édition*).

⁴ Craig, p. 477. (The italics are mine.)

⁵ A. Jubinal, "la Nativité de Jhésucrist," in *Mystères inédits du quinième siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, 1 ff.

⁶ A. Jubinal, "la Résurrection de notre Seigneur," *ibid.*, 312 ff.

⁷ Ed. by P. Piper, in *Die Geistl. Dicht. d. Mittelalters*, "Deutsch. Nat. Lit.," Band 3, Erster Teil, 93 ff. That part of the *Genesis* known as "Schöpfung. u. Sündenfall," pp. 93 ff., begins

Nu fernemet, mine Hebon,
ich wil iu aine rede for tön;
and ends
des choden wir al zesamine;
"laus tibi, domine!"

This would indicate that this was the end of matins, and that lauds followed.

series of metrical *lectiones* for matins, is constructed just as is the *Adam*. The first lesson of the *Genesis* deals with Creation, Fall, and carrying to Hell of Adam and Eve and closes with a prophecy of Christ's Harrowing of Hell.¹ It would seem that the preacher then calls on the people to begin Lauds. With the next line of the manuscript commences the entirely distinct recital of the story of Cain and Abel. The poem being wholly undramatic, this section refers back to Adam. But the significant point is that the Adam episode is complete even to the prophecy of his redemption from Hell, as it is in the Anglo-Norman *Adam*, before the Cain and Abel story is begun. This is suggestive. It points to the probability of dramatic vernacular *lectiones* as an intermediate step between the Latin and perhaps the vernacular epic narrative such as we have in the Vienna *Genesis* and plays like the *Adam*. Another feature of the manuscript which must interest us in connection with Mr. Craig's theory is that the remainder of the *Genesis* relates the stories of Noah, Abraham, Isaac and his Sons, Joseph and his Brethren, while all intermediate matter is dropped, as it is in the responses and in the plays.

And now for the bit of confirming evidence with regard to the origin of the Old Testament cycle of plays in the ritual of matins from Septuagesima Sunday to Passion Sunday, and the further reason for the constant choice of the particular stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses for these cycles. As early as the "Gregorian"² *Liber Responsalis*, which was in general use by the ninth century, the antiphons for the week of Septuagesima included parts of the parable of the Husbandman.³ With the inclusion of Septuagesima in Lent⁴ it became the seventh lesson of Septuagesima Sunday. It was also in use as the Gospel of mass⁵ on Septuagesima Sunday

¹ Piper, pp. 93 ff.

² See Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, Paris, 1905, I, 6; and Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, London, 1911; Migne, "Pat. Lat.," LXXVIII, *S. Gregorii magni liber responsalis*, cols. 725 f.

³ Matt. chap. 20: "Simile est regnum coelorum homini patrifamilias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam. Conventionem autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno, misit eos in vineam suam. Et egressus circa horam tertiam, vidit alios stantes in foro otiosos, et dixit illis: Ite et vos in vineam meam, et, quod justum fuerit, dabo vobis. Illi autem abierunt. Iterum autem exiit circa sextam et nonam horam; et fecit similiter. Circa undecimam vero exiit, et invenit alios stantes, et dicit illis: Quid hic statis tota die otiosi? Dicunt ei: Quia nemo nos conduxit. Dicit illis: Ite et vos in vineam meam," etc.

⁴ About the time of Pope Alexander II (1061-75). See Batiffol, p. 90. See *Breviarium Romanum*, Mechlin, 1909; *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, H. B. Soc., 1909; *The York Breviary*, The Surtees Soc., Vol. LXXI.

⁵ *Missale Romanum*, Mechlin, 1909.

throughout the Middle Ages. Thus this parable was very early and persistently associated with the beginning of the Lenten period. But its real influence on the future of the religious drama began when it came to be followed in the breviary by certain significant extracts from the nineteenth Homily of St. Gregory¹ which expounds this often-repeated story. St. Gregory makes the Day of the parable symbolize the entire period from the Creation to the Last Judgment. The various Hours mark the great epochs in world-history. These are five: from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to the Advent of Christ, from the Advent of Christ to the end of the world.

What could be more natural than that this oft-repeated outline of the world's history should become the outline of the cycles of Old Testament plays, which, we have seen, grew out of the dramatization of the *lectiones* and responses of the very ritual in which this parable and homily had so important a place? The stories of Cain and Abel, of Isaac and his Sons, of Joseph and his Brethren are closely associated with, though not necessary to, this outline, and we find them very often omitted.²

It seems to me also that these *lectiones* of Lent may be responsible in part for that introduction to the Creation and Fall which is an almost constant feature of the Old Testament cycles, namely, the Fall of the Rebel Angels, for this element is present in the extracts from St. Augustine³ which form the three lessons of the second nocturn of this same important Septuagesima Sunday. As for the rest, the age between Adam and Noah could be bridged by the Cain and Abel, and, sometimes, by the Seth stories, that between Abraham and Moses by the Isaac and his Sons and the Joseph and his

¹ Migne, "Pat. Lat.," LXXVI, col. 1155 f.; also Breviary, *matins of Septuagesima Sunday*: "Hic itaque paterfamilias ad excolendam vineam suam, mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, et undecima operarios conduct: quia a mundi hujus initio usque in finem ad erudiendam plebem fidelium, praedicatores congregare non desistit. Mane etenim mundi fuit ab Adam usque ad Noe: hora vero tertia a Noe usque ad Abraham: sexta quoque ab Abraham usque ad Moysen: nona autem a Moysen usque ad adventum Domini: undecima vero ab adventu Domini usque ad finem mundi." See also Migne, "Pat. Gr.," LXV, cols. 755 ff., for a probable Greek source of St. Gregory's Sermon.

² Cain and Abel do not appear in several of the Continental cycles; see *supra*. Isaac and his sons figure in only one (*The Towneley Plays*, E.E.T.S., E. S., 1897, pp. 49 ff.) while Joseph and his Brethren are entirely absent from the English cycles.

³ Breviary, *op. cit.*: "Hinc post peccatum exsul effectus, stirpem quoque suam, quam peccando in se tamquam in radice vitiaverat, poena mortis et damnatione obstrinxit: ut quidquid proles ex illo, et simul damnata, per quam peccaverat, conjuge, per carnalem concupiscentiam in qua inobedientiae poena similis retributa est nasceretur, traheret originalem peccatum quo traheretur per errores doloresque diversos ad illud extremum cum desertoribus angelis, viciatoribus et possessoribus et consoribus suis sine fine supplicium . . . et adjuncta parti eorum, qui peccaverant, angelorum, luebat impiae desertionis dignissimas poenas . . . non sane Creatoris desistente bonitate, et malis angelis subministrare vitam," etc.

Brethren narratives; because they were present in the responses and because they were regarded as highly symbolic of Christ's Advent and his life. For the long period between Moses and the Advent of Christ, there was already established in the Christmas procession of *The Prophets of Christ* a flexible and picturesque connecting link which was in its very nature the normal introduction to the Nativity and Passion. Finally, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, the *Antichrist*,¹ and, occasionally, an apocalyptical play like that of the English *Ezekiel*,¹ bridged the indefinite stretch of time from Christ's Ascension to the Last Judgment.

This article of Mr. Craig's may also throw light on the rise and growth of the other Old Testament plays which crop out regularly and finally get embodied in some of the more artificial cycles.² May we not presume that these also had their rise in the responses of matins, this time of the summer and autumn,³ not of the winter and spring *cursus*. The stories from the other historical and epical books of the Old Testament were read at matins after the great culminating festival of Easter, and a part of them were still further separated from the symbolic Lenten cycle of narratives by the summer season when religious worship is naturally more lax. Moreover, the heroes of these stories, for the most part, were not regarded as in any way prototypes of Christ as were those of the Lenten *cursus*, and lack the quality of symbolic and homiletic suggestion inherent in the latter. But sermon cycles and the extant plays would indicate that these other stories went through a similar process of emphasis; first, by exposition in the Latin and in the vernacular, and then, by dramatization. Naturally only a late, self-conscious literary impulse would interject them into the earlier, and, as we have seen, already complete cycle of Old Testament plays, the simple aim of which was to show the necessity and the manner of the Passion of Christ.

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¹ *The Chester Plays*, II, ed. by T. Wright for the Shakespeare Soc., London, 1847.

² See *le Mystère du Viel Testament*, ed. by James de Rothschild for the Société des Anciens Textes français, Paris, 1885; and *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. and tr. by E. Norris, Oxford, 1859.

³ See C. Marbach, *Carmina Scripturarum*, Argentorat, 1907, pp. 5° ff.

